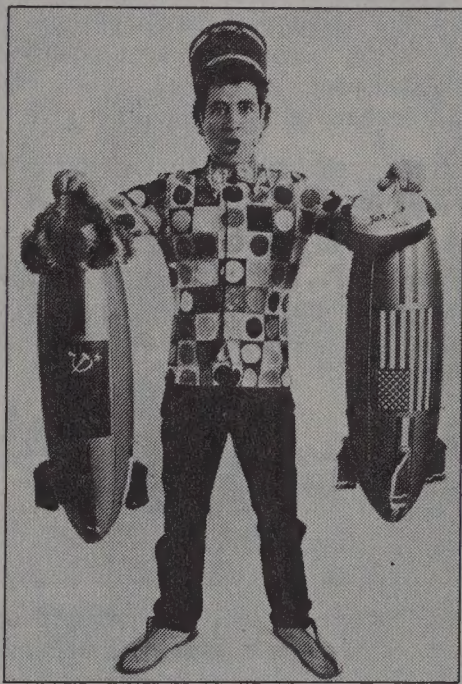
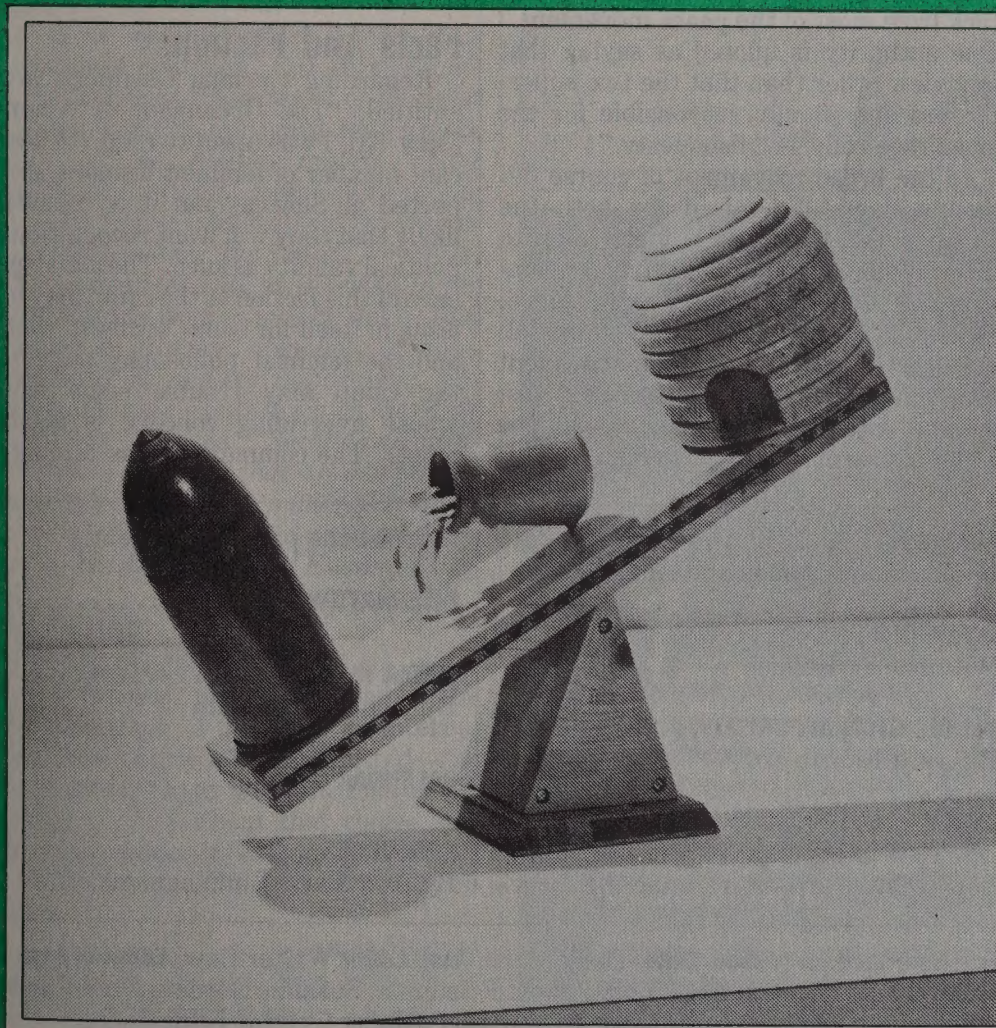


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LETTERS

Communists & The Movement

At a time when the only vital concern of every citizen of the planet ought to be to motivate governments to step backwards, away from the nuclear cliff, I find the distress of some activists over communist participation in the peace movement ludicrous ["Peace Council Raises Questions," May '83]. How many times are we planning to relive the McCarthy era? Are we going to permit persons of limited mental capacity to produce knee-jerk reactions deterring us from fighting for our collective survival? Why should the red-baiting of a right-wing government committed to a nuclear first-strike be permitted to divide us? Surely red-baiting must have become somewhat threadbare from over-use by now. Does the *Reader's Digest* direct our activities as well as those of this government?

—Irene Brown
Farmington, Mich.

I found your article on the U.S. Peace Council very interesting as it points up a serious dilemma in the peace movement. I have heard the executive director of the Council speak at a local meeting. He freely admitted his membership in the Communist Party. This troubled many members of the audience. I would not deny Americans of any persuasion the right to express their views. But as coordinator of my town Freeze Committee, I feel that the active participation of Communists in the peace movement makes our goals suspect.

The freeze movement should not give

the red-baiters the ammunition they are waiting for. Our cause is vital, and our success depends on wide popular support. Let's not jeopardize it.

—Laura Mausner
Teaneck, N.J.

David Corn's article on the U.S. Peace Council was good in that it called attention to the role of the Soviet Union on the question of disarmament. However, I think it was bad in the conclusions it drew.

The question of the Peace Council "manipulating" other groups was justifiably dismissed. However, the real question is not the participation or non-participation of the Peace Council in a coalition, but the politics the Peace Council represents. Not only the Peace Council but a great many other left and progressive organizations argue that it is the United States that is primarily responsible for the arms race. Yet the article implies that this view is illegitimate and "a very different tack from most of the peace movement." One authority is quoted as saying that any view other than that the two superpowers are equally responsible for the arms race reflects "dishonesty."

In the broad movement of course demands should be raised for both the United States and the Soviet Union to disarm—for example the freeze campaign. However, the question of the responsibility for the arms race and the relative roles concerning disarmament issues has scarcely been seriously discussed within large segments of the broad disarmament movement. This

question should be at least subject to more serious study before declaring that the disarmament movement has a settled position. There is, I and many others would argue, a significant body of evidence that it is the United States that is primarily responsible for the rapidly approaching nuclear dangers we now face.

—John Trinkl
New York, N.Y.

David Corn replies: The article in question reported on how the U.S. Peace Council poses questions for many within the movement. It did not judge the Peace Council's stand on the Soviet Union and responsibility for the arms race, but noted the reactions of others to the Peace Council's position, which, according to Peace Council literature, is that the United States is "the responsible party for the arms race." Our survey of movement activists indicated that—right or wrong—this is indeed "a very different tack from most of the movement."

Facts And Factions

Regarding Corinna Gardner's article entitled, "The Greenham of America" [May '83], I was upset to read, "A significant number of feminist lesbians are expected at Seneca, and it is considered likely that they will want recognition and political validity as such. The active presence of this faction at the camp may be an issue in itself for some 'straight' women, and the feminist philosophy underlying the camp may trouble some women whose overriding concern is disarmament." The comment seems to question

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the political validity of lesbian feminists. Feminist lesbians are not a "faction" of the movement for peace and justice, but are essential to it, and have been throughout the century! The women's encampment is rooted in the belief that all women should enjoy recognition, respect, and political validity, and that a diversity of women can and will work together for life-affirming change. I regret that your remarks implied divisiveness.

Similarly, the work done by the Women of Color Caucus of the encampment is essential—not a "question of lifestyle and secondary agenda" among the campers" as your article seems to imply. Work for justice and against racism is certainly not a secondary issue in the struggle for peace. I am concerned that the article does not seem to recognize the political validity and importance of this work.

—Jennifer Tiffany
Ithaca, N.Y.

Corinna Gardner replies: The points of view covered in the article were those of women I interviewed, not anything I fabricated. Moreover they were not presented as "divisive," but within the context of a serious effort to build a broad-based coalition. Far from slighting the political importance of feminist lesbians, I made the point that unlike many of the media reports about Greenham Common, which play up the supposed "wives and mothers" character of the women there, the Seneca Army Depot encampment will be indebted to the work of many women who do not fit that description. Racism, obviously, is not a problem of secondary importance, nor are the other social ills to which the camp is publicly opposed. "Secondary agenda" refers to issues that are not part of the camp's most widely publicized reason for being—to function as a point of resistance to the deployment of Euromissiles.

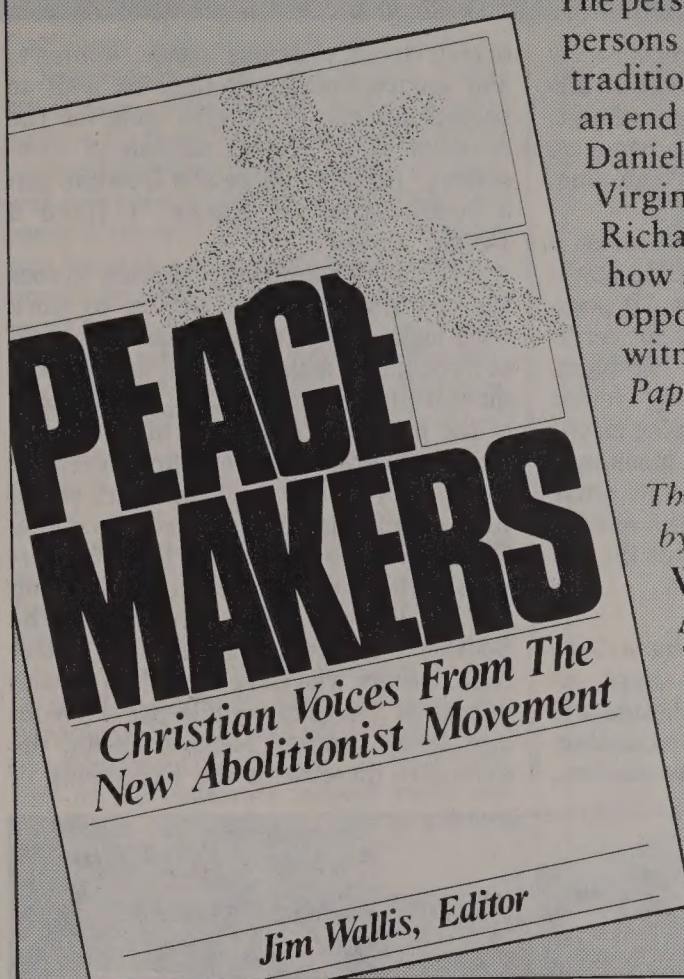
Correction

It is unfortunate that somehow, in the editing process, the final clause of the first paragraph of my piece on international law [April '83] got omitted—"as the Supreme Court put it in 1895 in upholding. . . ." Without that clause, the sentence reads as if "customs and usages of civilized nations" is part of the constitution.

—James Munves
New York, N.Y.

COVER CREDITS

Left: "Monument" by Robert Cumming, photo by Steven Borns. Top Right: "Rage, Anguish, Keening" by Rose Shechet Miller, photo by Peter Bates. Bottom Right: Comedian Paul Zaloom, photo by Jim Moore.




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• EARLY WARNINGS •

CRUISING ALONG: The military currently has in production ground-, sea-, and air-launched cruise missiles. Two Amherst, Massachusetts, activists have come up with a more benign model—the automobile-launched cruise.

“What’s frightening about the cruise is that it’s so small,” says Bill Starkweather, an architect and artist. “It poses a world threat because it’s just not verifiable.” To dramatize the problem, Starkweather and friend Gary Seldon built four actual-sized papier-mâché and cardboard cruise missile mock-ups, deployed them on car roofs, and drove around. “Anyone who sees the missile wants to take an informational flier or talk with you about it,” says Starkweather.

The four missiles—which have been sold to anti-cruise activists—have appeared in at least 50 news photos, and been “deployed” in parades, at antinuclear rallies, at high school assemblies,

of civil rights, religious, peace, women’s, and environmental groups, as well as several unions, the march calls for the creation of a “New Coalition of Conscience” for jobs, peace and freedom and a reaffirmation of King’s “I Have a Dream” speech.

Over 260 organizing chapters across the country have been set up to work with local groups to mobilize marchers, according to Vickie Johnson, media coordinator for the march. Last month some of the principle organizers of the march toured several cities to spur interest in the rally. On June 2, at the start of the tour, over 900 people crowded into a New Orleans church to listen to the chairpersons of the march—Corretta Scott King and Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Others who have signed on as convenors of the rally include Stevie Wonder, Jesse Jackson, Richard Deats, the executive director of the Fellowship of

French Smith, Richard Nixon, Edward Teller and Henry Kissinger, with about 1000 fellow Bohemians, gather at the Bohemian Grove to escape the cares of responsibility. (Reagan is not expected to attend this year.)

The two-week retreat, which starts July 15, begins with a ritualistic ceremony called the “cremation of care,” when some of the most powerful men in the country, wearing red, hooded robes, burn a coffin that symbolically contains “Dull Care.” This ceremony, says Mary Moore, of the Bohemian Grove Action Network, “is outrageous at a time when the world really needs *more* care.”

For the duration of the retreat, BGAN, a coalition of peace and social issue groups—ranging from the NAACP to Prostitutes for Peace—will conduct an around-the-clock vigil at the gates of Bohemian Grove. It also plans to hold a human rights rally at the front gate on July 15 and a peace and antinuclear rally there on July 22.

A SECRET RULE: If the Department of Energy has its way, a new category of government secrecy relating to nuclear weapons and energy projects might soon be established. Under a proposed rule the DOE could prohibit the dissemination of unclassified information concerning its production, storage and transportation of nuclear weapons and material. In the name of stifling possible sabotage attempts, the DOE wants to withhold information—termed Unclassified Controlled Nuclear Information (UCNI)—which has been of value to activists and state officials who have investigated or opposed DOE nuclear programs. For example, UCNI has been used in research efforts on the health effects of radioactive releases from weapons plants.

“This rule could make unwitting criminals out of activists and even librarians,” says Fred Millar of the Washington, D.C.-based Environmental Policy Institute. Under the rule, he notes, anyone disseminating UCNI without DOE authorization is subject to a fine of up to \$100,000 and a prison sentence of 20 years. Citizen researchers in Hawaii and Europe who have discovered the locations and transport routes of nuclear weapons by identifying unclassified security features—such as double barbed-wire fences and armed escort vehicles—could be prosecuted under this rule. Activists who recently protested along the route of a train carrying nuclear weapons could be considered criminals because they publicized the train’s course.



Starkweather and Seldon’s missile deployed: Building a better cruise

and in shopping mall parking lots. In May, a “new and improved” fiberglass version of the cruise, which will sell for \$350, went into production in Starkweather’s garage. “The more of them we get out there, the better,” he says. “The sighting of these weapons deployed on the tops of vehicles provides a fantastic educational opportunity. We want the country to see that *we* make a better missile.”

A KING-SIZED MARCH: If all goes as planned, hundreds of thousands of people will assemble at the Washington Monument starting at 8 a.m. on August 27. Three-and-a-half hours later the gathering will march to the Lincoln Memorial to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Martin Luther King’s march on Washington, D.C. Organized by a broad coalition

Reconciliation, and William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

Though the crowd is not expected to reach that of the June 12 rally, some peace movement activists point to the march as the major action of the summer and note that it is a way to reach a new constituency.

BOHOS ON PARADE: Later this month, when leading members of the Reagan Administration, the arms industry, the foreign policy elite and the world of multinationals and international banking meet for the annual “carefree” Bohemian Club retreat in Monte Rio, California, local activists will be on hand to protest. Each year such figures as Ronald Reagan, Caspar Weinberger, William

The DOE is now considering comments it received on the rule; it will issue the final rule later this year. Several environmental, antinuclear and civil liberties groups, as well as some unions and state officials, are fighting the proposed rule, which was drafted in response to a congressional act. "We can't entirely gut it this time around," says Millar. "Congress did give the DOE the opportunity to write it. But the question is whether the DOE has gone beyond its mandate and tried to significantly narrow what it has to release."



SIGNS OF THE TIMES: Motorists in Berkeley are receiving more than just a traffic direction whenever they come up to a stop sign. The Sign Transformation Organizing Party (STOP), a group of Bay Area peace activists, recently posted stickers on the lower half of 1000 Berkeley stop signs, which transformed the traffic command into an antinuclear message.

NUKING CUBA: U.S. troops are poised and ready to invade Cuba. A question confronts the President: Should the invasion force carry nuclear weapons? That question was put to 400,000 listeners of the San Francisco radio station KFRC during the recent broadcast of a modified version of Ground Zero's *Firebreaks* game. In the game's scenario, which differed from the standard *Firebreaks* game, rising tensions in Latin America lead to a new Cuban Missile Crisis in May 1984. But this time, the Soviets, pointing to the deployed U.S. missiles in Europe, do not give in to U.S. demands for the missiles' removal.

KFRC listeners, according to Patrick Heffernan, director of Ground Zero California, voted overwhelmingly to invade Cuba *without* nuclear weapons. But at each additional step of the escalating cri-

sis the audience voted (making phone calls to the station) to go nuclear, leading the superpowers into a nuclear war in the Caribbean with no end in sight.

Nevertheless, the *Firebreaks* show, which was composed of phony bulletins written by the KFRC news team and the regional director of the Associated Press, was quite a success, says Heffernan, because of the way it introduced the nuclear war issue to a large audience. The show drew over four times as many listeners as usual for its time-slot (and it was "not a peacenik audience," says Heffernan). Phone lines into the station were jammed throughout the show. "One Air Force officer called up and said the show had made him think twice about what he is doing," says Heffernan.

A week later the show was broadcast again, and this time the audience showed more restraint, choosing the non-nuclear option at every turn. KFRC and Ground Zero California are now planning to syndicate the show to other stations. According to Theo Brown of Ground Zero in Washington, D.C., WABC in New York, one of the country's largest radio stations, has expressed interest in airing a *Firebreaks* game.

DISARM OR ELF: Activists in Michigan are now fighting on both legal and political fronts to stop what would, if completed, be the world's largest radio transmitter. The Navy wants this transmitter, dubbed Project ELF (for extremely low frequency electromagnetic radiation) in order to broadcast one-way messages to its nuclear submarines. And it wants a substantial block of land in Michigan and Wisconsin on which to build the giant, underground radio antenna. But organizers, who argue that Project ELF, due to its inability to withstand attack, is only useful as part of a first-strike system, are using the courts to try and halt the project.

At a three-day meeting in mid-July, the Michigan Natural Resources Commission, a seven-person board of the state's Department of Natural Resources (DNR), will decide whether to grant the Navy permission to build ELF along an 80-mile corridor of state forest land in Michigan's upper peninsula. In preparation for the meeting, anti-ELF activists are initiating court proceedings against the DNR. "According to the law," says John Stauber of Stop Project ELF, "the DNR can only grant land use approval for railroads and commercial power lines. ELF is neither."

Stop Project ELF plans to bring 500 activists from all areas of the state to the July meeting. "We won't be disruptive," says Stauber, "but we will turn the meeting into an anti-ELF event." The group is also calling for the states of Wisconsin

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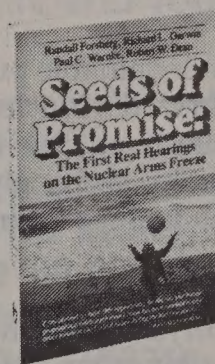
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and Michigan to jointly sue the Navy for failing to update its 1977 environmental impact statement with numerous studies linking ELF to an increase in cancers and birth defects. And Stop Project ELF is considering, for the first time, staging civil disobedience actions at ELF testing facilities in both states. "Sixty percent of the people in Michigan and Wisconsin oppose ELF," says Stauber, "and now is the time to prove it."

NO MORE MR. NON-PROLIFERATION: If there is one nuclear-related issue on which Senator John Glenn has taken a strong stand during his eight years in the Senate, it has been non-proliferation. That is why some observers were surprised—and some shocked—when Glenn's signature was absent from a letter recently sent to President Reagan criticizing his policy on non-proliferation and endorsing a bill that would tighten controls on nuclear non-proliferation. Three other Democratic presidential candidates—Walter Mondale, and Senators Alan Cranston and Gary Hart—as well as six congressional representatives, signed the letter. And that was the problem for Glenn, according to several sources involved in putting the bill together.

They say that although Glenn's staff helped draft the legislation, in the end the Senator—who in the past has been dubbed "Mr. Non-proliferation"—did not want to be identified with his political rivals. But politics had nothing to do with it, maintains Susan Matthews, a press aide for Glenn. The Senator has said that he supports the general thrust of the measure, but disagrees with certain specifics. "Many changes were made in the bill and letter to accommodate Glenn," says Paul Leventhal, president of the Nuclear Control Institute, which played an advisory role in drawing up the bill. "There's precious little of anything that he could quarrel with."

The bill, entitled the Nuclear Explosives Control Act, has three principle objectives: to sharply restrict commerce in nuclear material, to offer incentives in the form of nuclear fuel assurances to nations that forego the use of weapons-grade nuclear material, and to tighten nuclear export criteria. The bill may come up for a vote in Congress some time this summer.

SURPRISE VERDICT: Honeywell Project activists in Minneapolis, Minnesota, are predicting that the results of a recent trial in that city will swell the ranks of people risking arrest at the group's next direct action on October 24. The trial, which concluded on June 3, resulted in a surprise verdict of not guilty on misdemeanor trespass charges for 36 protesters arrested outside the offices of the Ho-

neywell Corporation last April. The jury of four women and two men acquitted the defendants after considering moral arguments in light of a phrase in the trespass law about a "claim of right."

Prosecutors asserted that the claim of right referred to an individual's belief that he or she has the owner's permission to be on a certain piece of property. Defense attorneys and several defendants argued that Honeywell's production of cluster bombs and nuclear weapon components provide a higher moral right to trespass (in this case, sitting down in front of entrances to the Honeywell building). Following the verdict, after four hours of deliberations, jury forewoman, Susan Kela, 32, called the defendants' claim "legitimate" and explained: "We were all more interested in interpreting the law than anything else. . . . I really thought before that the law of trespassing was very cut and dried. . . . I was awed by some people's total commitment. I will have to give them a lot of credit for standing by their beliefs."

PEACE CAMPS SPROUT: Taking a cue from the women at Greenham Common, several local antinuclear groups in the United States have decided to pitch their own tents. In addition to the women's camp at the Seneca Army Depot, believed to be a storage site for the neutron

bomb and Pershing 2 missile near Seneca Falls, New York, activists have opened or plan to open camps at other sites across the country.

On June 15 members of the Species Life House in Missoula, Montana, set up a camp at the site of a Minuteman missile silo in Conrad. Organized by Karl Zanzig and Mark Anderlik, who last August committed civil disobedience at the silo and received six-month jail sentences, the Silence One Silo Peace Camp will be maintained by a core group of five activists for at least 30 days and possibly longer. Plans called for other activists to visit the camp for several days at a time.

In Kent, Washington, a women's peace camp was established June 18 at a Boeing plant that produces cruise missiles. Carla Kiiskila, an organizer of the camp, says that there is no time limit for how long the "hard-core" group of 50 campers will stay at the site.

The Community Against Nuclear Extinction, a cluster of antinuclear affinity groups in northern California, plans to open a camp for women and men in Silicon Valley this month. Located 50 miles south of San Francisco, the area hosts over 300 military contractors, including several with cruise and Pershing 2 contracts. "We were inspired by the women of Greenham Common to work against the deployment of these missiles," says

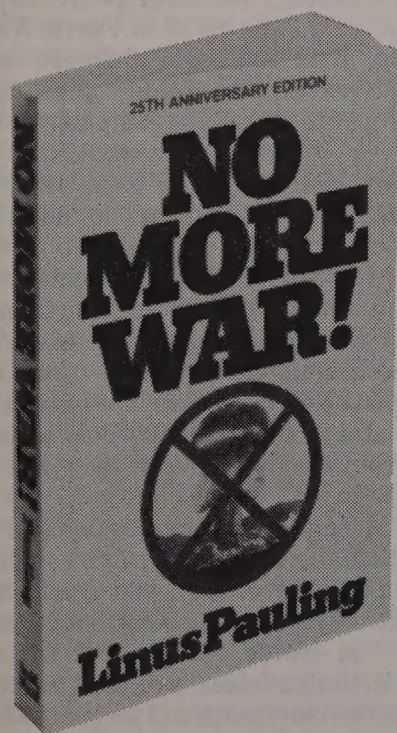
Mark Schneider, one of the camp's organizers. "This is a natural place for a camp."

OUT OF THE U.S.R.R.: Sergei Batovrin, one of the founders of the Group To Establish Trust Between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., has left the Soviet Union after being granted an exit visa. On May 19 Batovrin, with his wife and 13-month-old daughter, flew to Vienna and then travelled to Rome, where they prepared for settlement in the United States.

Batovrin, who had been trying to obtain an exit visa since 1976, says that Soviet officials told him that if he did not accept the visa he would be interred in a psychiatric hospital. (He was incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital for one month last summer.) The offer of a visa followed the group's distribution of 2000 fliers that urged Soviet citizens to directly contact American citizens. Placed in Moscow mailboxes, the leaflets included the names and addresses of American peace organizations to which Russians can write.

Meanwhile, it has been learned that Alexander Shatravka, a peace activist loosely affiliated with the Group to Establish Trust (NUCLEAR TIMES, June 1983) has been sentenced to a three-year jail term for distributing material Soviet authorities felt "defamed" the state. □

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MOVEMENT POLITICS

No More "Easy Victories"

With the freeze facing defeat in the Senate, the MX missile revived, and the absence of congressional opposition to the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles, some political observers in the past weeks have been quick to tout the decline of the freeze campaign and the disarmament movement. Many antinuclear activists concede that President Reagan's attempt to fashion a so-called "bipartisan consensus" on arms control has shifted the political momentum in Washington, D.C., away from the movement for the time being. But rather than despair, movement leaders, as well as grass-roots organizers, maintain that the real battle has only just begun.

"The peace movement has seen a temporary setback," says Mike Jendrzeczyk of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. "It is going through some re-evaluation, but anyone writing it off now is making a big mistake." Christopher Paine of the Federation of American Scientists agrees: "We're not going to be handed the easy public relations victories that we've had before." And Howard Morland of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, noting that there are not too many positive signs in the immediate future, adds, "The peace movement is going to have to figure out how to live without tangible victories."

Although the peace movement's response to Reagan's new look in arms control may be slow in arriving, movement leaders promise it is coming. But what is most important, they say, is not always what occurs in Washington, D.C. "The grass roots is the only place where we have possibilities," says Morland. "The other side has more money and leverage. We have people."

With or without the promise of success, there is still work to be done. The freeze campaign is lobbying actively for the freeze in the Senate. Although the Republican-dominated Senate is expected to defeat the freeze resolution, freeze supporters will try at least to spark a big debate.

But what is developing as the major front for the antinuclear movement is the Euromissiles issue. SANE, the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, the United Church of Christ and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom have set up the Cruise and



Pershing Project in Washington, D.C., which will lobby Congress to prevent the deployment of the Euromissiles. According to Jane Midgeley, director of the project, Representative Ronald Dellums will propose two amendments—one to cut Euromissiles funds for 1984 and one to delay deployment, scheduled for the end of this year, for one year.

But the administration already has the funds it needs for the first phase of deployment, and Midgeley admits that "at this point, there is not the strength to have winning votes on these amendments." Midgeley and other activists, however, note that grass-roots organizing is only now gearing up on this issue.

Mobilization for Survival, says disarmament staffer Bruce Cronin, plans to highlight the Euromissile issue during Hiroshima and Nagasaki days next month, and at the Martin Luther King Jr. March. But the major demonstration against the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles is scheduled for October 21-24, in conjunction with actions to be held in Western Europe and Canada. Local peace organizations, including freeze groups, will stage decentralized, nonviolent actions at weapons sites and other locations.

But even if the first phase of deployment begins in December, movement leaders say it won't be the end of the debate. "We want to lay an educational

base," says Morland, "that may eventually allow for pulling the missiles out, to force their early retirement."

Peace groups are also trying to keep the MX an open question. Some lobbyists for the movement say that there is still a chance—though slight—to defeat the MX, which faces additional votes in the months ahead, especially if Reagan fails to deliver on his promise to display greater flexibility at the negotiating table. Additionally, a new proposal, which would ban the flight testing of the MX as long as the Soviets did not again test their new ICBM, is attracting some support on the Hill. Several senators who voted to release MX funds in May have signed on to the proposal, which is being sponsored by Senator Carl Levin.

Although congressional approval of the MX and Reagan's newfound—though fragile—political support for his arms posture has been discouraging for many activists, some within the movement have responded by re-evaluating strategies and assumptions. "The politicians got away with something and that taught us two lessons," says Jendrzeczyk. "First, Reagan is much more clever at packaging his arms control proposals than we anticipated. Second, we're going to have to push Congress more forcefully."

At a strategy session of the freeze campaign, held June 10-12 in Fort Worth, Texas, state and regional freeze representatives and other leaders of the movement met to clarify the campaign's strategy. A statement produced by the session re-affirmed the basic sentiment behind the freeze that no additional weapons on either side "can be justified on grounds of morality, economics or national security." The freeze campaign decided to urge its supporters—in absence of a freeze—to evaluate individual weapon systems. It was also agreed that the national freeze office would assist local groups that now decide to oppose new weapons.

Still, some peace movement activists say that the freeze campaign's strategy doesn't go far enough and that a more direct response is needed, such as the call, "no freeze, no funds." In other words, until a freeze is offered to the Soviets, the movement will target the funding for every new nuclear weapon system. "The only alternative then," says Cronin, "would be to freeze so that the

Soviets couldn't go ahead with their weapons." At the Fort Worth freeze session, however, some freeze supporters from the Southeast noted that any strategy that appeared unilateral would undermine their organizing efforts.

But at the grass roots, what happens in Congress is not the be-all and end-all. "It doesn't affect us," says Peggy Schroeder of Northwest Texas Clergy and Laity Concerned, in Amarillo, Texas. "We're always struggling with what we're going to do next. We keep trying to educate people." Sara Kirschenbaum of the Ohio Freeze campaign concurs: "The movement is so educational. What happens in Washington is not going to get us down."

In the end, "there won't be a single vote in Congress—this year or next year—that sets our course," says Morland. More important than any one vote on a weapon system, he adds, are the institutional changes that the movement has spurred—the Catholic bishops' letter, the outpouring of previously unavailable information on the arms race, the peace and disarmament courses now being taught in colleges. "This is a long-term struggle," he explains. "If you're going to run a marathon, you don't psyche yourself up to run a 100-yard dash. We might have to think in terms of a 50-year marathon and not expect a whole lot each time there's a vote in Congress."

—David Corn

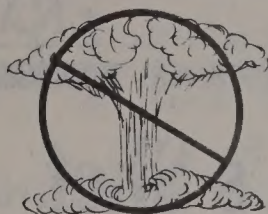
NO HOME ON THE RANGE

RX For MX

Grass-roots activists in the West, angered by President Reagan's successful lobbying efforts on the MX in Washington, D.C., say they are still determined to keep the missiles out of Wyoming and Nebraska. "I'm sure there's a hope that we'll pick up our tents and go away," says Sister Frances Russell of the Tri-State Coalition to Stop the MX, "but we're not going anywhere." Wyoming's largest newspaper, the *Casper Star-Tribune*, recently came out against the MX. Another broad-based group, Western Solidarity, plans "hard-core organizing" in Wyoming and Nebraska this summer, according to spokeswoman Evelyn Lifsky. Ranchers, clergy, environmentalists and politicians will band together for an anti-MX "road show," traveling through each state in an educational campaign.

A May 29 rally in Cheyenne, Wyoming, which drew over 1000 protesters and received national media coverage, gave "legitimacy" to MX opposition, says Lifsky. "We're going to stage more demonstrations," she adds. "We're definitely planning to keep a high public image."

—Renata Rizzo



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• NATIONAL •

THE "OPIUM STOCKPILE"

FEMA's Shot In The Dark

Of all the bizarre programs administered by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) to ease Americans through the ordeal of nuclear war, none makes quite so much sense as the Opium Stockpile. As Richard E. Corder, former director of the National Defense Stockpile program, once put it: "We would be up the creek without opium. There's substantial pain from radiation burns."

The opium program began in the late 1950s. Since 1960, the stockpile, then worth some \$5 million, has blossomed into a \$29.6 million stash, comprising at the present time 39,508 pounds of powdered morphine sulfate and 31,795 pounds of raw gum opium.

Citing security reasons, FEMA officials refuse to say where the stash is stored, beyond disclosing that it is kept in three states: Colorado, Kentucky, and New York. It is known, however, that the storage sites are U.S. Army depots.

The motivation for hoarding analgesics in the Nuclear Age is stark in its simplicity. The 1977 Congressional Civil Preparedness Review put it this way: "In recognition of the likely impossibility of being able to treat many fallout or other casualties for a lengthy period after a nuclear attack, the U.S....began the stockpiling of large quantities of opium, so as to have available supplies of morphine for the temporary relief of casualties who could not be provided adequate medical attention in the post-attack period."

Officials at FEMA are understandably vague about how they intend to process tons of opiates into administrable doses under threat of nuclear bombardment. "As a national security emergency developed," a FEMA spokesman says, "the stockpiled materials would be moved to processing facilities for conversion into individual doses under the auspices of the Department of Commerce. Subsequently, the doses would be distributed, as appropriate, to the Armed Forces or the Public Health Services for their distribution to local health authorities." Some government officials question whether these plans are workable.

The opium program is bolstered by a strategic stockpile of drug plant seed maintained by the Department of Agriculture. The last time these seeds were mentioned in the annual Stockpile Re-

port to Congress was the 1973 edition, which said 703 pounds of *Papaver somniferum* seed—enough for a 10,000 acre stand of opium poppies—were being held at Fort Collins, Colorado. Ironically, two major sources for the seed were Poland and the Soviet Union.

The program was discontinued and the seed sold off sometime in the mid-1970s, according to the FEMA spokesman. However, Dr. Lewis Bass, director of the National Seed Storage Laboratory at Fort Collins, says that it is still very much alive and that the lab is currently holding some 700 pounds of *Papaver* seed. "By the information I was given," says Dr. Bass, "it was to be held in case of a national emergency, if a crop had to be grown for medicinal purposes."

An intriguing aspect of the opium stockpile program is how its fortunes seem to have waxed and waned with the wavering progress of detente over the last 15 years. In 1968, the year of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, 143,556 pounds of opium were on hand. In the mid-1970s, when the Nixon rapprochement with the Soviets was at its warmest, the Federal Preparedness Agency (FEMA's predecessor) sold off half the stockpile to pharmaceutical companies. In 1980, as international relations began to glaci-ate, the target goal was upped again to 130,000 pounds, reportedly on "guidance" from the National Security Council. The rationale offered in the 1980 stockpile report was "reanalysis of nuclear requirements."

While "nuclear requirements" were reassessed and goals raised, the 71,000-pound stockpile itself hasn't grown in years. FEMA officials blame this on the program's limited funding, a problem that will surely be eased if the current drive in the House Armed Services Committee to turn the National Defense Stockpile over to the Department of Defense is successful.

Policy considerations, too, seem to have played a role in the opium slowdown. In January, National Security Advisor William Clark settled what *The New York Times* described as "a rather protracted policy debate" by deferring purchase of an additional 10,000 pounds of morphine from Turkey. Clark was said to have been concerned that the public might view an opium stockpile buildup as an indication that the Reagan Administration was preparing to fight and prevail in a nuclear war.

—David C. Morrison

David Morrison has written articles for Newsday, The New York Times and many other publications. He is a research analyst at the Center for Defense Information.

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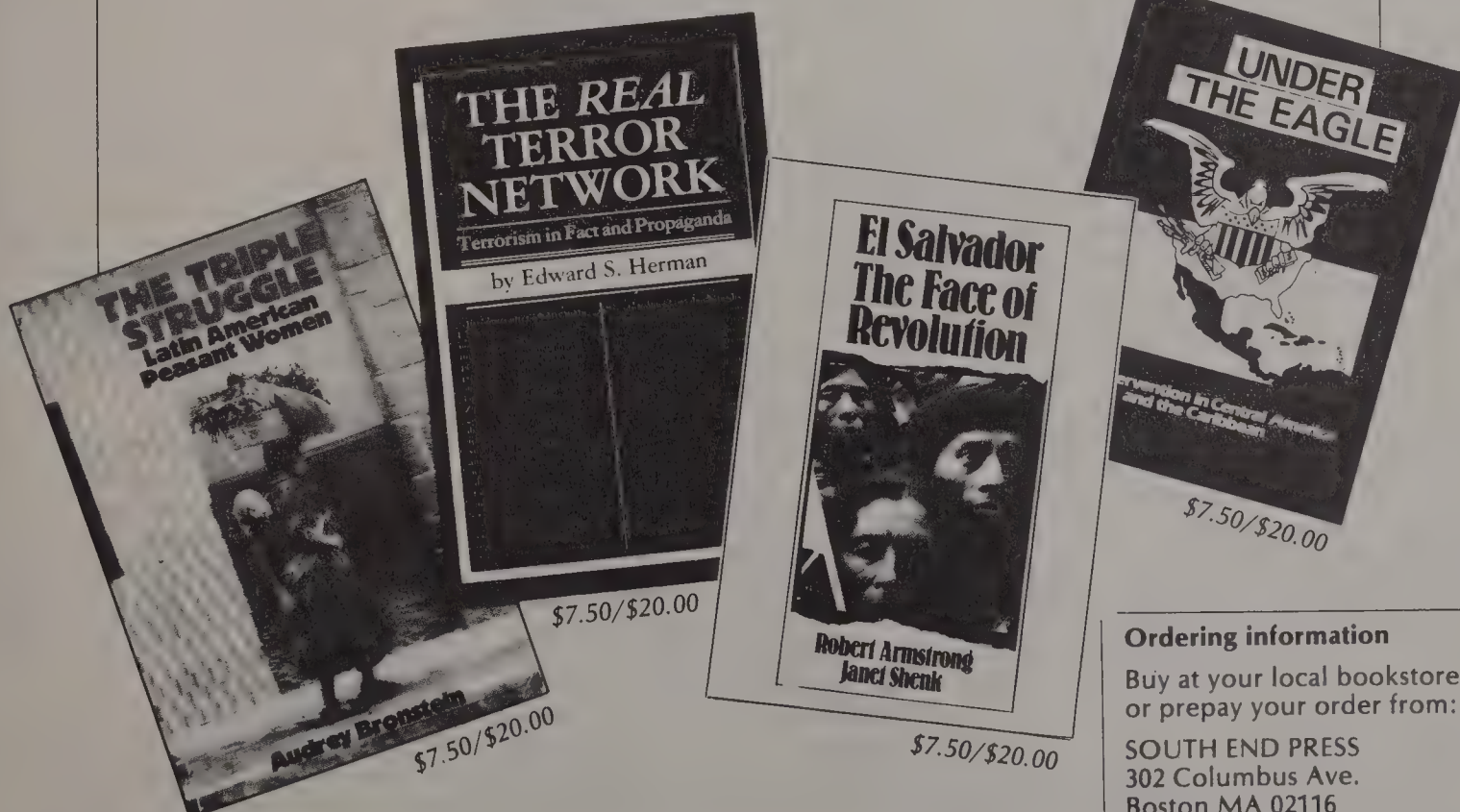
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ACCIDENTAL "DOOMSDAY"

New Weapons Wired For War

In his book, *On Thermonuclear War*, strategist and futurist Herman Kahn pondered the desirability of constructing the ultimate deterrent: a computerized Doomsday Machine. "The Soviets would then be informed," wrote Kahn in 1960, "that if the computer detects them in any violations it will blow up the world." After tortuous analysis, Kahn nixed the Doomsday plan because—while both terrifying and fool-proof—it wouldn't be controllable. "A failure kills too many people and kills them too automatically," he decided. "There is no chance of human intervention, control and final decision."

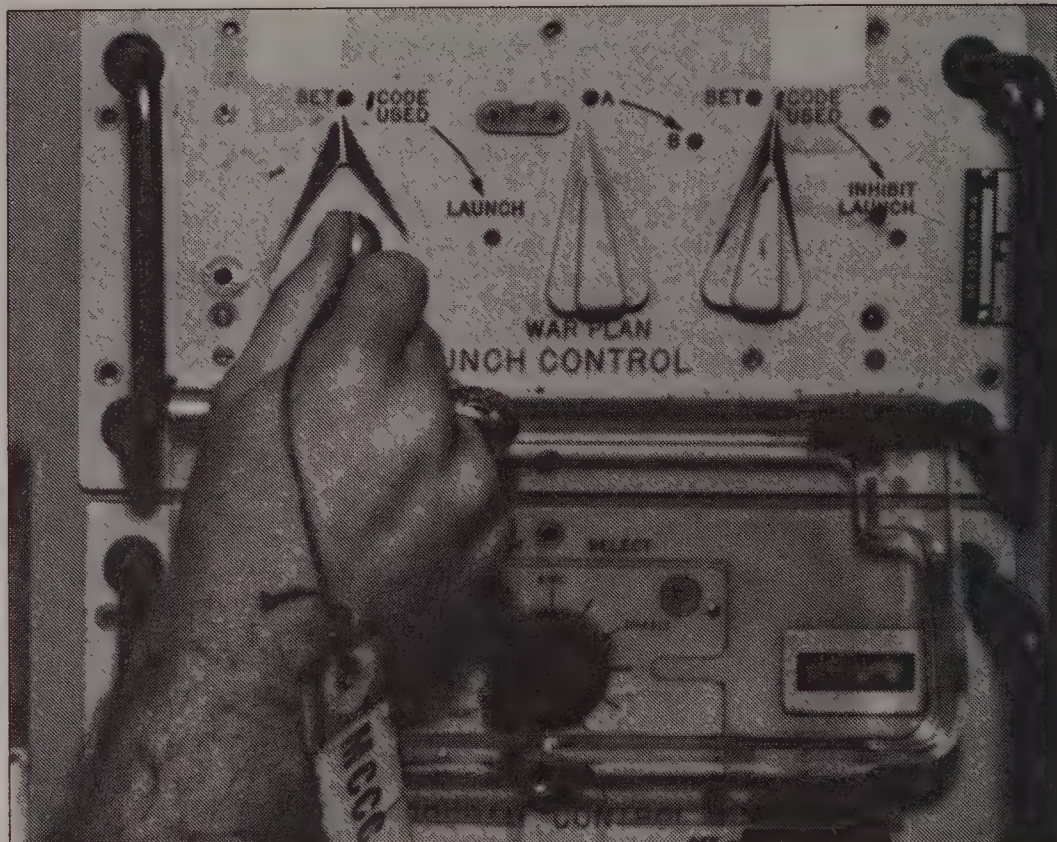
Willy-nilly, almost a quarter of a century later, Kahn's Doomsday Machine—parodied in *Dr. Strangelove*—is virtually upon us. As never before the world is wired for war. While the Pentagon prepares for deliberate attack, the war the superpowers have been awaiting almost 40 years will more likely happen by chance: unwanted, unplanned and uncontrollable.

The grim specter of accidental nuclear war has haunted us since the dawn of the missile age. The most belabored scenario—on display again in the movie, *WarGames*—involves a computer-generated false alert kicking off a deadly action-reaction cycle with the Soviets. Computer error, however, is unlikely to trigger an unintentional attack, absent an international crisis. In the wake of the highly-publicized rash of false alarms in 1979 and 1980, the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) initiated several key reforms: software (programming) revisions, new double-check procedures and replacement of its archaic 427M computer complex.

The possibility of machine error cannot be discounted entirely, as Senators Barry Goldwater and Gary Hart acknowledged in an otherwise optimistic 1981 report. "There is no guarantee," they wrote, "that false alerts will not happen in the future." But the greatest danger now arises not from faulty computers but from the imminent deployment of counterforce missiles, forward-based first-strike systems and satellites that perform vital weapons guiding and warning missions.

"LOW" PROBABILITY

As the superpowers pile up arsenals of



First-strike firepower and "jumpy" commanders—not computers—pose real threat

first-strike missiles, our reliance on the "collective judgment" of NORAD's subterranean human watchdogs and their Soviet counterparts will continue to grow. These counterforce weapons have built-in hair-triggers because they threaten the other side's counterforce missiles and so are attractive, indeed essential, targets themselves. In a crisis, nuclear warriors will have to wrestle valiantly, and perhaps in vain, with the urge to preempt the enemy's first-strike weapons. Such "crisis instability," by exacerbating first-strike fears, will make for very jumpy early warning evaluators.

Just how jumpy has been the subject of a national debate following the Reagan Administration's decision to base the MX missile in potentially vulnerable Minuteman silos. In this use-them-or-lose-them basing mode, MX virtually begs a launch on warning (LOW) policy, by which ICBMs are fired solely on receipt of sensor warning. It has always been hard to believe that either superpower would follow stated policy and "ride out" a first-strike before retaliating. But the logic lurking behind MX was explicated in a May 1983 Congressional Budget Office study noting that the Soviets "might be

further deterred by the consideration that the U.S. could conceivably launch all of the MX missiles after receiving warning of a Soviet attack. . . . This could occur if the U.S. launched its ICBMs on warning—which is neither assumed nor precluded by current U.S. policy."

Fred C. Iklé, who as undersecretary of defense for policy is now responsible for promoting the counterforce weaponry that engenders LOW, foresaw the danger four years ago, not long after he had departed as President Ford's arms control chief. "A launch on warning posture," Iklé told Congress in 1977, "might increase the deterrent against the calculated first strike, but at the price of increasing the risk of accidentally unleashing the destruction of our nation."

No less worrisome is the direction of Soviet launch policy. Not only do the Soviets fear being on the receiving end of 1000 super-accurate MX warheads, but soon they will face the preemptive threat posed by upcoming U.S. forward-based first-strike systems.

The Reagan Administration plans to build 20 or more Trident submarines, each to carry at least 192 Trident II warheads with silo-busting accuracies. By

the 1990s, the United States could theoretically sneak this armada, with as many as 3840 warheads, into Soviet waters to deliver a disarming first-strike (with less than 15 minutes' warning). This December, the first nine of 108 Pershing 2 missiles, armed with the world's first Maneuverable Reentry Vehicles (MARV), will go into West Germany. The Pershings won't have the range to reach Moscow, but they will pose a credible first-strike threat to hardened command bunkers in the western Soviet Union with only about 10 minutes' warning.

Last November the *Novosti* news agency hinted darkly that the Pershing 2 could force the Soviet Union to adopt an "instantaneous" retaliatory posture. While this has been discounted by some as Soviet propaganda, other observers believe the Soviets have several compelling reasons to adopt LOW. While they could theoretically destroy only one-quarter of the U.S. strategic arsenal with a strike against ICBMs, the United States will be able to take out 70 percent of the Soviets' firepower in a similar strike. Further, Soviet liquid-fueled missiles are more vulnerable than U.S. solid-fueled ICBMs to near-misses, making them less inclined to risk "riding out" an attack.

KILL POWER IN SPACE

Not all of the apparatus essential to precision attacks and "protracted nuclear war" is found in silos or on submarines. Increasingly, the superpowers are filling the heavens with "force multipliers."

For instance, the NAVSTAR Global Positioning System, an 18-satellite fleet to be ready in 1987, will give Trident II and a plethora of other weapons unprecedented accuracy. Each NAVSTAR will be wired with IONDS, sophisticated nuclear explosion detectors to enable U.S. planners to instantaneously assess the success of counterforce attacks, enhancing the "kill power" of U.S. ICBMs by an estimated 40 percent. By next year, improved early-warning Defense Support Program (DSP) satellites will offer rapid data on which Soviet silos have fired and which are still loaded. Coupled with IONDS, DSP will enable the United States to reliably target and destroy Soviet forces as never before. The U.S. ability to target the Soviet "strategic reserve" would force the Soviets, once a shooting match starts—or after they misread a false alarm—to fire everything they've got before it is destroyed.

The result of all this celestial activity is that—long before Reagan's "Star Wars" scheme is implemented—space will have become the critical nuclear front line. The uncontrolled environment of space promises to become one more treacherous trip wire. Both sides are revving up

PREVENTIVE MEASURES

The Human Factor

Nuclear safety planners walk a tenuous tightrope. Rules governing release of nuclear weapons must be strict enough to prevent casual holocaust but not so rigid as to impede immediate response to attack. Over the decades, complex procedures have evolved to—theoretically—strike this delicate balance.

The Department of Defense conducts a Personnel Reliability Program (PRP), which turns up a frightening number of high-risk individuals among the 100,000 service members who work directly with nuclear weapons. An average of about 5000 men and women per year are removed from nuclear duty because of mental illness, alcoholism or drug abuse (the latter representing about 40 percent of the total). Even so, a PRP brochure warns that "unauthorized destructive acts cannot be completely prevented."

Of course, there is no PRP for the president, who officially has sole authority to order a nuclear attack (though he is dependent upon the secretary of defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to carry it out). There is reason to believe that launch authority—officially or not—has been "predelegated." It became known, for example, in the wake of the 1981 shooting of President Reagan, that the Joint Chiefs held a duplicate of his nuclear authorization code card. The original had been confiscated at the hospital by the FBI.

This murky command arrangement cuts both ways. While we have reason to be concerned about the "Mad General syndrome," the willingness of the military to mutiny against an unwarranted launch order is our only hedge against presidential insanity. In the weeks before President Nixon's resignation, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger ordered that wild directives from the White House be funneled through his office. During his last hours in office, the distraught 37th president was pressured into passing the omnipresent "football" (containing attack options and launch codes) to Vice President Ford.

If the men at the top agree to go nuclear, an Emergency Action Message is sent through a cryptographic Sealed Authentication System to the commander of the Strategic Air Command (SAC), who transmits a go-code to the missile and bomber squadrons. A squadron of 50 missiles in silos has five Launch Control Cen-

ters (LCC), each staffed by two missileers sitting at widely spaced consoles. Should the go-code (which changes daily) match that already punched into an electronic lock or Permissive Action Link (PAL), the two officers turn special keys. The missiles are then ready for countdown, provided SAC has transmitted an additional electronic enabling signal. To prevent one missileer from operating both consoles the keys must be turned simultaneously and two officers in another LCC must second the "launch vote" within five minutes or the missiles automatically recycle to stand by.

If the LCCs have been destroyed, a SAC general overhead in the 24-hour alert "Looking Glass" command plane can launch (and even retarget) the missiles by remote control. Theoretically, this is possible *only* if all the LCCs are down, but it is widely rumored—if officially denied—that the Looking Glass general has independent launch delegation. The logic of deterrence dictates that he does; "decapitation" of nuclear authority in Washington, is SAC's darkest nightmare.

Controls on ballistic missile submarines depend largely on a variation of the "two man rule." The captain's launch key is kept in a safe within a safe which can be opened only by two special duty officers, each of whom has the combination to only one of the safes. To actually fire the missiles, one officer throws a switch, two others turn keys and the missile officer pulls a trigger. The duty stations are widely separated so a crazed officer can't order launch at gunpoint.

Guarantees are less strict on bombers. In a procedure known as "positive control," SAC go-codes authorizing the planes to proceed past designated fail-safe points must be verified by three officers on a B-52 (or two on a smaller FB-111).

Even weaker are the controls over single-pilot tactical nuclear bombers, leading to bizarre fail-safe devices reportedly employed in the European theatre during the 1970s. The British wedged a door-shaped, nail-studded piece of wood under the wheels of alert-status bombers to prevent unauthorized take-off. On some West German airfields, fail-safe amounted to little more than a sharpshooter keeping watch on runways.

Control over tactical nuclear weapons may present the greatest uncertainty, especially during a crisis when confusion is rampant. For instance, while regulations call for PAL codes to be withheld from Atomic Demolition Munition teams, who would plant the low-grade nuclear devices in the field, until they reach emplacement sites, a 1977 Army field manual emphasizes the "responsibility of a commander to deviate from specific Safety Rules in an emergency." —D.M.

an anti-satellite weapons race that may eventually threaten the very assets by which they would attack and prosecute a war. And with a steadily mounting volume of space debris orbiting the earth, the likelihood of blinding a key satellite by accident grows daily. In 1981 the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics noted that the volume of space debris is expanding at a rate of more than 10 percent a year, and warned that "the probability of collision will eventually reach unacceptable levels, perhaps within a decade."

If a satellite were blinded in a collision, ground controllers would be hard pressed to decide whether it was an accident or the first shot of a sneak attack in space. Paranoia on this account already runs high. Un-named administration sources have charged, in such publications as *Aerospace Daily*, that three "major malfunctions" of U.S. satellites in the past few years "may be due to foul play."

The other side of this coin is that the high-tech gizmos on which the military now relies so heavily are vulnerable to the blackout effect of the electromagnetic pulse (EMP) caused by nuclear explosions. It may be a toss-up whether force multipliers could do their work before being shut down by EMP, but the result in any case would be a spasm war of blind ferocity.

TENSION MOUNTS

The relentless technological drift towards nuclear war-fighting arsenals and strategies unfortunately comes at a low point in international relations. The possibility of accidental nuclear war is heightened by increased opportunities for superpower confrontation. Since 1945 virtually every major clash of arms has quickly become a proxy war with nuclear weapons in the near background. A stark example of this was the 1973 Yom Kippur War, during which Nixon ordered a nuclear alert to warn the Soviets against aiding the encircled Egyptian army. Recent reports suggest the Soviets, for their part, may have moved nuclear weapons into Egypt's Alexandria harbor.

Escalation of a crisis into thermonuclear war would not even necessarily have to come at the behest of a commander-in-chief. One of the more disturbing aspects of the Cuban missile crisis was that, quite unknown by President Kennedy, the Navy harassed Soviet naval forces and reconnaissance aircraft penetrated Soviet airspace far in excess of official policy. Some analysts foresee "prolonged nuclear crises," during which U.S. nuclear forces might be on "super-alert" for many weeks or even months.

With missileers working double shifts, bomber crews conducting extended airborne alert maneuvers and submarine crews stationed long beyond their regular 60-day rotations, the opportunities for miscalculation and error would be frighteningly high.

According to Daniel Ellsberg, a Pentagon consultant on nuclear command and control in the early 1960s, the challenge to maintaining peace in a crisis is "not the irrational or insane person as in *Dr. Strangelove*, but the highly dedicated, disciplined officer who might feel that his duty compelled him to do what his superiors would want him to do, but couldn't because they were dead or out of communication." Commanders of hard-to-contact submarines could pose a particular threat in this regard.

AVOIDING THE WRATH OF KAHN

There are no simple nostrums for the accidental/unintentional nuclear war problem, but a few positive steps are possible.

Launch on warning may be the most important issue. Those agitating against any hint that launch on warning is being adopted may find unexpected allies in those hawks who oppose LOW not because it is dangerous but because it is incompatible—constituting as it does a sort of "premature ejaculation" of American strategic potency—with the survivable systems necessary for a "controlled" nuclear war.

President Reagan's May proposal to upgrade the 20-year-old teletype Hot Line will help, as he said, to facilitate "the rapid exchange of technical military information, thereby preventing misunderstanding in a crisis." Better would be implementation of the plan offered by Senators Sam Nunn and Henry Jackson for a Soviet-American Joint Consultative Center in Switzerland, a "live hot line" staffed by diplomats, technicians and military personnel. To forestall a burgeoning arms race in space, many are urging the administration to renew the anti-satellite treaty talks abandoned in 1979 and to consider a space weapons treaty the Soviets drafted and submitted to the United Nations in 1981 (or submit our own proposal). The most obvious, if most difficult, way to dampen the danger would be an immediate, bilateral freeze, since the gravest peril is fostered by the new counterforce weaponry and the hair-trigger launch procedures it demands.

American or Soviet leaders who find these proposals unacceptable must defend the acceptability of the ever more likely alternative: unintentional holocaust.

—David C. Morrison

SCREENWRITERS' STORY

How Hollywood Learned To Play War Games

The hit movie, *WarGames*, which was released nationwide one month ago, has been hailed by Helen Caldicott as a "marvelous tool" for the antinuclear movement. Representative Edward Markey, a leading freeze advocate in Congress, says that "every senator should be strapped into a chair and made to watch this film." But the movie's accidental-nuclear-war-is-in-inevitable theme was not a part of its original scenario.

When screenwriters Lawrence Lasker and Walter F. Parkes began working on the film in 1979, the germ of an idea they were pursuing was that of a troubled teenage boy receiving guidance from a brilliant scientist. The boy and the scientist would share an interest in new technologies, specifically computers, but there was no nuclear element to this link. Then, in November 1979, a computer tape of a simulated Soviet missile attack was accidentally fed into a computer at North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), prompting a "nuclear war alert."

The incident received little press coverage but it proved pivotal for the writers. They began to see preparations for nuclear war as "the central technological debate of our time," as Lasker describes it, and started to recast the plot accordingly.

Lasker, a journalist (and ironically, a good friend of Donald Denton, son of Senator Jeremiah Denton), and Parkes, a documentary filmmaker who made the award-winning *California Reich*, combed through hundreds of newspaper and magazine articles. They interviewed experts at research centers such as Rand, TRW and SRI International. Seeking authentication, they approached the Air Force through its public information office in Los Angeles. At first the Air Force cooperated fully. A plum assignment for the airmen, the information office is "wired to Hollywood," according to Lasker, who says the office routinely reads dozens of scripts and is in close contact with all the studios, including MGM/UA, which was making *WarGames*.

Friendly information officers showed the pair photos of the NORAD installa-

tion buried beneath the granite face of Cheyenne Mountain in Colorado. However, when they asked to tour the facility, they were repeatedly told that it was strictly off limits. Their luck changed when Duncan Wilmore, then an Air Force movie and television liaison official in Los Angeles, told them that a VIP tour was scheduled at Cheyenne Mountain for Los Angeles civic leaders.

The two managed to tag along on the tour, eventually finding themselves in the war room, known as the "Crystal Palace." Both describe the experience as anticlimactic. After having seen impressive rooms full of computer hardware at other Air Force bases, the Crystal Palace to them seemed small and uninteresting—not at all a "nerve center."

During the tour, they encountered NORAD's commander, General James V. Hartinger, an affable and self-described egotist who introduced himself this way: "Boys, I hear you're doing a movie about me." Inviting Lasker and Parkes to the officers' bar, Hartinger answered their questions and confirmed key points from their research, according to the screenwriters.

Among his most important revelations, they recall, was that the Department of Defense (DOD) is seriously considering removing any human control over the computers that command nuclear weaponry. This is because a large number of missile commanders in the silos—the men who are responsible for turning the keys that launch the warheads—are removed from their jobs for stress-related factors, including drug abuse, alcoholism and overburdened consciences.

Hartinger decried the demise of human accountability. "I sleep well at night knowing I'm in charge," he told them. Hartinger would find his way into *WarGames* as the tobacco-chewing General Beringer, a blunt-talking Southerner who takes a dim view of the technocrats surrounding him. Beringer's attitude, however, is not based on humanitarian considerations; rather, he acts out of interest in preserving his status as a military leader.

Several months after the tour, the studio sent the final version of the *WarGames* script to the DOD in hopes of obtaining technical assistance and military hardware for use as props, a request that is frequently granted. The formerly helpful information officers suddenly became chilly. A DOD spokesman said that the studio "had the option of our assistance, if they made basic changes to their story." The DOD objected to Lasker and Parkes' treatment of the missile commanders in their script because it made their soldiers seem unwilling to take orders. Secondly, they "hated the idea," according to



Parkes and Lasker didn't set out to write nuclear thriller

Lasker, that the military's computer system could be penetrated from the outside, which the teenage video whiz accomplishes in the film, nearly setting off a U.S. first-strike.

After speaking to dozens of computer experts, the screenwriters believe that penetration of the computer system would be difficult but not impossible. They point out that, by law, all computers are linked to Ma Bell for intercommunications, so the same lines used for phone calls transfer computer defense secrets. Moreover, a growing army of "hackers" publishes its own underground newsletter, *TAP*, offering tips on how to get free credits on video games, passwords and computer phone numbers.

Located at Offutt Air Force Base in Omaha, Nebraska, which is headquarters for the Strategic Air Command, the military's computer system plays "World War III" 365-days-a-year. It generates and stores thousands of scenarios in response to theoretical nuclear emergencies. Since computers can only deal with quantifications, values are assigned to human lives, oil refineries and military bases. At the end of an exercise, the values are calculated to see who won and whether or not that particular strategy worked.

In *WarGames*, the computer system becomes "the WOPR" (War Operation Planned Response) and is moved to NORAD's Cheyenne Mountain installation. As Parkes puts it, its actions "show the dehumanized gap between the decision-making process and those affected

by the decisions." With only minutes' warning, the military has little time "to yank the President off the can and have him say 'Go!'—to follow the computer," Parkes points out. "It's beyond the human mind to figure out how to do it, so the computer takes over."

After the military shut its door on cooperation, the *WarGames* art director was not even able to get a clearance to visit March Air Force Base in California, which routinely allows civilian tours. Thus handicapped, the sets were built in Hollywood based on the screenwriters' Cheyenne Mountain tour, photographs, and assistance from the Air Force's Wilmore, who had just retired. The film's "Crystal Palace" is an "adolescent fantasy," according to Parkes, with the military display screens uncannily resembling the latest in video arcade games.

Officials at NORAD believe that the whole movie is "pure Hollywood fantasy," as one spokesman described *WarGames* following its release, citing its many alleged "factual," "procedural" and "technical" errors.

Although the film's antinuclear message becomes inescapable—the computer finally learns that the only way to win the "game" is "not to play"—the movie studio isn't promoting it as a political or antinuclear movie. "The film doesn't barrage you with propaganda," Lasker says, "but its persistent message is that nuclear war is unwinnable."

—Gina Lobaco

Gina Lobaco is a freelance writer in Los Angeles.

Doing Better Than The Freeze

Lobbying and electioneering may help slow the U.S. nuclear arms buildup, but these tactics do not challenge its underlying momentum. We cannot rely on institutional channels of conventional politics which, for 38 years, have served military interests in Nuclear Age America. "Forget the channels," urged physics pioneer, chairman of the Council For a Livable World, and presidential science adviser George Kistiakowsky last year, shortly before his death. "There is simply not enough time left before the world explodes. Concentrate instead on organizing, with so many others who are of like mind, a mass movement for peace such as there has not been before."

Whatever the merits of actively supporting or opposing a particular candidate, such tactics do not—even if successful on Election Day—guarantee anything. While electoral and lobbying campaigns have their uses, continued dependence on them would be a prescription for disaster for the disarmament movement. These activities can accomplish only a small amount of what needs to be done. The powerful economic interests profiting from nuclear weapons and militarism will not be thwarted by letter-writing campaigns or electing "good people."

Recent months have provided the sad spectacle of a nuclear freeze movement devoting too much of its energies to an ambiguous, non-binding freeze resolution mired in Congress. "Pro-freeze" politicians subjected the resolution to increasingly-contorted explanations. Congressional leaders "on our side" sought to buttress support for the measure by publicly belittling its significance. Ironically, the very approach that presents itself as being most politically realistic—the freeze—has been extruded through *realpolitik* constrictions, till we can barely recognize the results of our hopes and labors when they emerge from the other end.

Weary of being considered tangential to "real" power politics, peace activists want—sometimes desperately—to be taken seriously. The danger is that, in our eagerness to matter more to those in power, we will matter less to the vital impulses that initiated our efforts in the first place.

We can learn a lot from the strategic

vision of Martin Luther King Jr., whose assertive tactics bypassed bottlenecked channels. The landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act a year later, were much more the result of direct-action campaigns in Birmingham and Selma than of well-heeled lobbying efforts at the Capitol.

It is worth noting that out of hundreds of members of Congress exclaiming their support for "the freeze," few are willing to flatly oppose deployment of the first-strike cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Western Europe next winter. Freeze campaign strategies have contributed to this problem, with fixation on a freeze resolution absorbing much citizen energy that could have focused on the Euromissile deployment issue. Likewise, pro-freeze politicians rarely utter a disparaging word about the genocidal Trident submarine missile system. Thus far, the freeze label has allowed many politicians to appear pro-disarmament without sticking their necks out by opposing the very weapons systems that will make a meaningful freeze impossible. This was shown most dramatically in late May when many representatives, who had just voted for the freeze resolution to stabilize the arms race, turned around and supported the destabilizing MX.

As a new electoral charade beckons, the peace movement's price of admission in 1984 is reliance on politicians who mouth support for "the freeze." They, and we, are going to have to do better than that. In contrast to Europeans, we do not have a multi-party parliamentary system, so the American electoral route contains additional pitfalls. Gaining 5 percent of the vote established the Green Party in West Germany's *Bundestag*, but 5 percent at the polls here accomplishes little.

A torrent of anti-Bomb statements will flow in the peace movement's direction from Democratic Party candidates during the following year. Flattered by the attentions of someone who may become president, activist leaders are apt to forget that we're struggling for disarmament rather than for favorable allusions to "arms control," pro-freeze buzz words and platitudes. Traditionally, Democratic hopefuls veer in an anti-militaristic direction prior to nomination; once nominated, however, the Democrats swing toward the middle.

America's past four decades have brought continuous nuclear weapons development; the ascension of liberals or conservatives, Democrats or Republicans, has had little effect on that. Lobbying and electioneering merely move disarmament ideals to the center of the political debate, where they can be compromised. The disarmament movement should continually move the center of political debate in *its* direction. Direct actions—including pickets, marches, rallies, sit-ins, die-ins, weapons-train blockades, other nonviolent civil disobedience and organized community-based noncooperation—are essential for that purpose.

If we funnel our movement's strength to the most appealing candidates on the horizon, we will badly circumscribe the potential for citizen empowerment to end the arms race. If, however, we can build a truly independent peace movement, our growth can lead us to rely not on politicians in office but instead on "the power of the people" (to use a timeworn yet meaningful phrase).

No matter who occupies the White House and sits in Congress in 1985, we should make sure that a strong and autonomous disarmament movement exists across the United States. We must learn how to manifest power more substantial than the threat of simply voting unsatisfactory politicians out of office. Ultimately, for example, the world would be a much safer place if the American anti-nuclear movement could grow strong enough to implement even a one-day halt to business-as-usual—a general strike of sorts—on behalf of disarmament.

The disarmament movement must be wary of encouraging people to believe that if they do certain things through established channels—like lobbying politicians, working for particular candidates, signing petitions, and voting—they are then off the hook, having done all they could do to prevent global holocaust. In the Nuclear Age, the need to develop more direct challenges to the holocaust-planners is never-ending. □

Norman Solomon and Ada Sanchez are coordinators of the People's Test Ban national clearinghouse based in Portland, Oregon. Solomon is the co-author of Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience with Atomic Radiation.

RANDY KEHLER

Doing The Freeze Better

While Ronald Reagan was defeating Jimmy Carter on Election Day 1980, a small citizens campaign in Massachusetts was racking up its first ballot victory. On that day voters in three state senate districts in western Massachusetts passed a freeze referendum by a three-to-two margin. Randy Kehler, 38, who had served two years in prison for draft resistance during the Vietnam War, organized this local campaign. About a year later, when the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign opened its national headquarters in St. Louis, Kehler was at the helm as national coordinator.

Having successfully lobbied the House for the freeze resolution, the campaign now faces a tougher fight in the Senate. It also finds itself challenged by a strong Reagan Administration effort to gain congressional support for its purportedly revised arms posture. And within the peace movement, some activists have recently raised questions about the campaign's overall effectiveness.

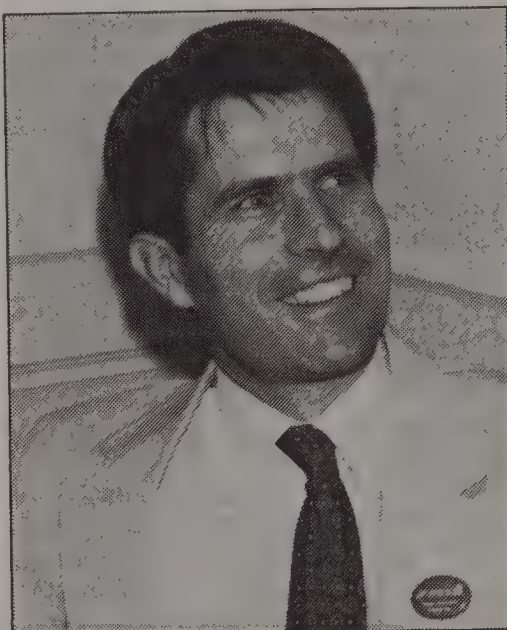
In the following interview, conducted by David Corn, associate editor of NUCLEAR TIMES, Kehler discusses the current state of the freeze and responds to some of the points raised in the Forum article on the preceding page.

After the freeze resolution passed in the House, it was called by some a watered-down freeze, a "slush" freeze, a "near victory." It took much longer to pass than expected. Why wasn't House approval of the freeze more of a resounding victory?

There were two problems. One is that many of our own supporters in Congress had not done their homework. After the first day when there was considerable disarray on the floor, they did their homework. The other problem we had, which was less under our control, was simply that we didn't have a large majority. We had a slender majority. And in any majority there is a fringe of people who are with you, but who are not strongly with you. In this case, if the opposition could turn around that fringe, we would have lost our majority. Had we had a larger majority, none of this would have happened.

But once the freeze passed, instead of being an uplifting event, the mood was more one of relief: finally, it's done. Did the campaign get as much media play from the passage of the resolution as it deserved?

I think the opposition was very successful in fooling the public and the media about the outcome. They managed to persuade a lot of people that the freeze was weakened—it was not—and that the final vote was at least as much a victory for the anti-freeze people as the pro-freeze people, which it was not. That took a lot of wind out of the sails. Instead of being able to rejoice in our victory, we had to explain to people that it was a victory. It has taken a lot of work.



Kehler: A question of "staying power"

There is no question that hurt us. That's a public relations effort—essentially, perpetrating a fraud on the American people—that was successful to some extent. Slowly the true word is getting out. All you have to do is read the resolution to see that the basic concept of freeze first and then reduce was kept intact.

Some congressmen who voted for the freeze turned around and voted for the MX—including such leading freeze supporters as Les Aspin and Clement Zablocki. What does this say about the House's commitment to the freeze as an actual strategy for halting the arms race?

Those members of Congress who supported the freeze and who voted for the MX are either being badly misled, fooled by the Administration's gestures and pieces of paper—letters that claim it is taking a new tack. Or if they are not being badly misled, they are playing a very dangerous game. I assume they are still critical of the Reagan policy. They think

that they are co-opting Reagan by extracting some vague promise about a change in arms control direction more than he is co-opting them. That's a very dubious proposition.

But there is this tendency to say that one week the Congress votes for the freeze, and the next it votes for the MX. That's not completely accurate. One hundred and eighty-six members of Congress voted against the MX, presumably all of whom also voted for the freeze. We're talking about a hundred members of Congress who voted for the freeze and the MX. It's a slight to those 186 to say the whole Congress has turned around. The fact that there are 186 solid votes is not to be taken lightly.

But what does this say about the way many members of the House regard the freeze? Does it indicate that support for the freeze is soft?

It sure does. It means that their support for the freeze was purely political support. They did it for political reasons. Their commitment to stopping the arms race, which is what the freeze is really all about, is questionable at best. The logic of the freeze is not being pursued by them.

In the next few weeks, many nuclear weapons systems will be up for vote, and it is expected that none will meet with much congressional opposition. Will these votes undermine the whole notion of a freeze in the political arena?

Let me say that it will never be too late to get a freeze. It will simply be more difficult as we get further and further into these new weapons, but never too late. At any point down the road, it will always be a matter of generating sufficient political will to get the arms race stopped. It will take more political will once we have these new weapons in place.

It is always a question of sufficient political will. There is no doubt that we don't have that sufficient political will now. But we've come along way; we've made tremendous strides.

People need to keep in mind that the campaign is still very young. One of our biggest problems is expectations, unrealistic expectations. The arms race has gone on with enormous built-in momentum for nearly 40 years. Who ever thought we would stop it in two? It's a ludicrous proposition. The danger is that

• INTERVIEW •

people are going to conclude that somehow what we have done hasn't worked. The fact is that what we have done has worked very well. We just haven't done enough.

There has been some debate within the freeze campaign and the peace movement at large as to whether the movement should concentrate on passing the symbolic freeze resolution or focus specifically on deployment of the Euromissiles. Where does the debate stand now?

First, let's be clear. The freeze resolution is not non-binding. It's binding. It's a joint resolution, which, unlike a concurrent resolution, becomes the law of the land if passed by both houses and signed by the president. If vetoed, it can be overridden by Congress. It goes the same route as any other bill. It can be the law of this land, if we generate enough political will and enough votes in Congress.

There are two reservations that people in the campaign have about getting into any specific weapons issues. One is that we will be vulnerable to the charge of unilateralism, even when opposing a system that deserves to be opposed on its own merits. The second reason is that even if we approach specific weapons systems in a bilateral way—and we have formulated some proposals for doing that—we will begin to lose the focus on the comprehensive freeze on all weapons systems in a way that will lose us the popular appeal the freeze has had.

For me this is a greater reservation. We've had efforts to combat specific weapon systems in this country for many years. Even when they are successful, as with the B-1 bomber, the weapon comes back at us, or it is replaced with another weapon that is even more dangerous. If it seems like we are slipping away from the comprehensive focus, getting bogged down in specific weapons systems, I think we will lose some of our popular support, and we will be playing into the hands of the proponents of these weapon systems, who know that even if we win one, eventually they can tire us out on the weapon-by-weapon approach.

Despite these reservations, we feel that we can't entirely fail to address these new developments because if not stopped, or at least suspended, they will make it more difficult to achieve a bilateral, comprehensive freeze. The reason we did not target the MX is that they are not about to deploy the MX. But they *are* about to deploy the cruise and Pershing 2. It is a part of the mounting crisis we are heading toward in Europe.

We are encouraging local freeze groups to spend a portion of their energies and activities this summer and fall on

the Euromissile question as a high priority. And we will approach this in the most bilateral way possible, tying it in every way to the achievement of a freeze. We happen to believe that not only must the cruise and Pershing not be deployed, but the Soviets must take an initiative to reduce substantially their SS-20s.

Overall, there is a triple-track strategy. It's my own concoction. The first track—and the main track—is the binding resolution which will give us a freeze or, at least, lead to the U.S. government proposing a freeze. The second and third track are both *enabling* tracks. The second is designed to prevent the undermining of the freeze by the introduction of dangerous, destabilizing new weapon systems, which would make achieving a freeze more difficult. On this second track, we will be working on the cruise and Pershing. One can argue that, for the same reason, we should include the MX on that track. I have my reservations about whether we made the wisest decision in not including the MX. But the story on the MX is definitely not over.

The third track has to do with the 1984 elections. We are planning to do everything we can to ensure that we have a more pro-freeze administration and Congress in office in 1985, which would enable us to proceed with track one.

My own view is that we can't do track one alone. We can't ignore the realities of weapons going forward.

Given that Reagan is finding support for his arms policy in both houses, what will be the significance of the freeze vote in the Senate?

It is not likely we will win on the first time around, but at least we will succeed in getting senators on record, knowing where they stand, which at the moment is hard to tell. There are a lot of issues in the history of great causes that have gone to the Senate, lost, gone back, lost but by less, gone back a third time, lost by still less, before they finally won. However many times it takes, we will go back.

In order to keep things going, doesn't the movement need periodic victories, especially at a time when it may be handed a few defeats?

I'm not sure that anything can be done. I think people have to recognize, as some of us have been saying all along, that in the long run this campaign has to have its ups and down. The question is, do we have a long-term staying power to continue building momentum and eventually achieve our objective? And that's an open question.

For example, there are large areas of the country that are still not well organized for the freeze. Were they organized we would have seen a very different result in the House, a much quicker, eas-

ier victory, and perhaps a different result in the Senate. We have a field organizers project that we are trying to raise money for, to send field organizers into these areas to catalyze freeze support.

There are some activists, like Norman Solomon, who say that the disarmament movement cannot rely on institutional channels or conventional politics. Is the freeze campaign's focus on Congress a problem?

There are no guarantees that any method will succeed. I certainly wouldn't deny that the route we have chosen is fraught with danger and difficulties, but I don't know a better method. I'm not saying that direct action or civil disobedience is not very much part of the eventual solution, part of the mix of approaches that are necessary. I don't know of any one approach all by itself which is more likely to succeed than the one that attempts to use the democratic machinery available throughout the country to change public policies.

Solomon maintains that the movement should emphasize direct action and work in the direction of one day being able to call a nationwide general strike on behalf of disarmament. Is this a viable strategy?

I don't have a crystal ball. It may be that in the end that's how we finally stop the arms race, and it may not. But one thing I do have a pretty clear hunch about is that before the average citizen is ready to participate in a general strike—at some personal risk and sacrifice to him- or herself—that average citizen is, at least, first going to want to explore and exhaust the more traditional channels of protest which are available.

While it may eventually come to a general strike—I wouldn't rule that out—to begin now calling for that or for nothing but civil disobedience and direct action would be to alienate the majority of people whose support we need to accomplish anything.

Is there perhaps a desire on the part of some movement leaders to be taken seriously by the powerful in Washington, D.C., that drives them into the arena of power politics?

Of course we want to be taken seriously. We want to be taken seriously as individuals and as a movement. That goes without saying. The question is not whether we want to be taken seriously, but whether the movement as a whole is becoming too infused with a Washington, insider expert's point of view.

I think that's a constant danger. We deal with that in the campaign daily. We always try to balance the "Washington" perspective with the "grass-roots" perspective. We are aware that the Washington view is a powerful, narrow and conservative perspective, but as part of

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Reagan Gores Liberals On MX

So what happened?

Last November, freeze referenda passed in eight states, lots of new liberal Democrats were elected to the House, the MX missile seemed on the way to the chopping board, and everyone was predicting that Congress would assert its legislative virility on the defense budget in the next session.

Now, eight months later, Congress looks like a "wimp." The House approved a freeze resolution, but some called it "slush" for all the qualifiers and caveats it contained. Then it voted for the MX, even though everyone conceded that the missile was just as (allegedly) vulnerable as today's Minuteman.

What happened? A group of liberals, led by Representatives Les Aspin and Albert Gore Jr., was a big factor in the MX victory. This group was so enticed by the prospect of playing a role in formulating arms-control policy that it readily believed the Reagan Administration's assurances that it would get serious about negotiating with the Soviet Union, if only the group would rally some of its liberal and moderate friends on the Hill to vote for the MX. And so the word went out that the vote was not just on the MX. It was a "package"—a vote, yes, on the first of 100 MX missiles, but also on a commitment by Reagan to shift his arms-control position closer to that recommended by the Scowcroft Commission.

The Scowcroft report urged building 100 MX missiles and placing them in existing Minuteman silos, but it also called for developing a new, small, single-warhead missile (called Midgetman) and changing the START position to emphasize limits on warheads rather than on missile launchers or missile throw-weight. This idea was prompted by a proposal by Gore last August to develop the Midgetman and to negotiate with the Soviets to dismantle *all* missiles with multiple warheads (MIRVs).

Gore used to be—and, in many ways, still is—against the MX. However, he saw the chance for a political deal: Reagan will give him and the other liberals Midgetman and a promise to negotiate more flexibly in Geneva; Gore and the liberals will give Reagan MX.

The strange thing about all this is that Aspin, Gore, and the others believe that they actually have—and can keep—the

upper hand. During the House and Senate debates, they and many others warned Reagan that he had better come through on his side of the deal, or else they would reserve the right to vote against MX later on. Maybe some of these people really will pull out if Reagan continues to "be Reagan," but a few things have been overlooked in this bargain.



First, beyond the flight-testing stage, weapons are awfully hard to stop. The number—and therefore the power and influence—of bureaucrats interested in their good health expands; the value of the contract grows, and so does political pressure within congressional districts earning money and jobs; more money is spent, more national "will" is put on the line, and thus the argument can be made that it's all the more wasteful and "weak" to cancel the program so late in the game. Representative Les AuCoin noted during the House debate on May 24: "No strategic weapon that has ever reached this level of funding has been permanently cancelled."

Second, Reagan never really did make much of a commitment. The only statements on paper are letters from Reagan to Representative Norman Dicks and to three senators in which the President pledges that he indeed understands and supports the entire Scowcroft report. However, the letters are bland, utterly without specifics. In the Senate debate, Dale Bumpers called one letter "the most meaningless document I've ever read in my life"—an exaggeration, perhaps, but not far out of line.

In his new START proposal, Reagan lifted the ceiling on missile launchers and emphasized a reduction in warheads, to make room for possible deployment of Minuteman. However, not even in private discussions with the liberals have Reagan or his aides said anything about proposing to the Soviets that both sides get rid of MIRVs. (This is significant,

since Midgetman, at least in Gore's formula last August, has no meaning except as a prelude to a de-MIRV proposal.) And in his letter to Dicks, Reagan noted that not all of the decisions about Midgetman or general progress on arms control "can or should be made in 1983."

But if not this year, when? When can the liberal Democrats say with all honesty that Reagan has pulled out of his formal agreement with them?

Third, are the liberal Democrats going to find it so easy to pull out when the time comes? The deeper "inside" they go—the more they become part of the policymaking circle—the more likely they are to share the administration's perspective. The more their own political wisdom and credibility are at stake, the less likely they are to admit to disastrous error.

They are playing a dangerous game, one laden with self-delusion and the potential for co-optation. "If I were the administration," says Representative Thomas Downey, who voted against the MX, "I'd keep these guys hooked for as long as I can. I'd offer them consultations. I'd give them some role in drafting some of the positions at the START negotiations. That'll keep them hooked forever."

Antinuclear activists, however, are trying to get the power-addicts unhooked before it's too late. The Council for a Livable World, Common Cause and SANE have sponsored radio advertisements in more than 20 districts and instigated petitions and phone-in campaigns, assailing the liberal Democrats for their hypocrisy and pressuring them to reverse their MX positions. Some of this could work. Senator Gordon Humphrey, one of the most right-wing members of Congress, voted *against* the MX—mainly because of a serious threat he faces from antinuclear Democrats in the 1984 election. Aspin has heard from thousands of angry protesters in his district; his staff members, both in Washington, D.C., and at home in Wisconsin, are reportedly displeased with his position, too.

Aspin has said of the administration and the bargain that he helped engineer with them: "If these guys renege on the package, I'm bailing out." One thing the antinuclear movement can do now is help the Aspin-Gore gang pack their parachutes, and then push them off the President's plane. □

INSPECTING THE TROUPES

On The Road For Disarmament



"Come and join us! Come join the parade!" Members of the Bread and Puppet Theater stand in front of the Plymouth Congregational Church in downtown Syracuse, New York, some handing brightly colored banners and flags to curious passersby, others blowing into homemade flutes and whistles. "This is what's best about Bread and Puppet," says troupe member Richard Norcross. "Being out on the street, we hit everyone and everything."

A few minutes later a rag-tag ensemble of people—on stilts, carrying streamers, and dressed in the vividly symbolic sculpture-puppets that have, for 20 years, been the hallmark of the troupe—start their 10-minute parade to Hanover Square. Papier-mâché washerwomen, garbagemen, and huge white cloth birds dance to the whimsical dixieland music of the Bread and Puppet Band. And the people of Syracuse are bewildered.

"What are they doing?" a woman carrying several shopping bags asks a friend, who replies, "I think it's to do with something *nuclear*." Greg Pitel, a young businessman, doesn't think that disarmament is possible. "There's enough communism and war overseas," he adds. "We don't need it here." But Debbie Callahan is worried about her six children. "I want the world to be around when they grow up," she says. "They're scared, and I want to reassure them."

The parade, now considerably lengthened by fascinated children with parents in tow, reaches Hanover Square, where an audience of 200 has gathered.

The people in Hanover Square are about to become part of the first PAND (Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament) Spring Caravan, a group of more than 60 performers who toured upstate New York from April 14 through May 15, visiting Brockport, Rochester, Ithaca, Albany, Syracuse, and a dozen smaller towns. Traveling in nine trucks and one brightly painted bus, and performing on college campuses, in churches, synagogues, parks, cafés, community theaters—and, straying from the "mainstream" circuit, the Clinton Correctional Facility in Dannemora, New York, and the Onondaga Indian reservation outside of Syracuse—the Caravan artists reached thousands of people with their antinuclear message.



Bread and Puppet Theater leads PAND parade: Symbolism on grand scale

"We took all of this on with absolute naiveté and an innocence that was preserving—it allowed us to do what otherwise couldn't be done," says Florence Falk, writer, organizer, and president of PAND. "After all," she adds, "this really was an absurdly massive undertaking."

PAND's inception dates back to December 1981. After discussing the idea with members of the Talking Band theater group, Falk arranged a meeting, held in Robert Jay Lifton's apartment in Manhattan. Nearly 100 people attended, and the decision was made to create an organization around the caravan idea.

PAND's inaugural rally was held on April 5, 1982, when it made clear its intention to unite the performing arts community and its audiences in a sustained and practical effort to bring about worldwide nuclear disarmament. The New York PAND chapter now has 1000 members, with directors that include Harry Belafonte, Susan Sarandon, Andre Gregory and David Byrne. Additional PAND chapters have been established in Seattle, Atlanta, Baltimore, and Portland, Oregon, and PAND International, formed in February, has chapters in five European countries, and Australia.

The Spring Caravan became the cornerstone project of PAND in New York, demanding herculean efforts from the staff and the Caravan artists. "Do you know what it means to assemble 65 per-

formers, six theater pieces, and a dance group and put them on the road?" Falk asks.

THE GRASS ROOTS OF SYRACUSE

Jim Clark is the managing director of the Syracuse Stage, a large glassy building that houses two theaters—the Archbold, with a seating capacity of 510, and the Experimental, with 212 seats. Clark is simultaneously answering phones, dealing with his staff, and trying to find the Bread and Puppet Theater's lunch, yet he welcomes a visitor into his office with the same crisp, professional energy that characterizes the organization he runs.

"When we first heard about the PAND Caravan," he says, "what immediately perked our interest was the caliber of the theater groups—all of them are representative of the best in experimental theater—and we rarely see that kind of work in Syracuse. Two months later Charles Tarzian [the Caravan's producer] sent us more details, and some reviews, and I became even more interested."

Clark contacted Parker Brown, a local tax attorney "who was wearing a big freeze button at one of our openings" and who, with his wife Amanda, had formed a neighborhood freeze group. The Browns worked on the disarmament side of the issue, while Clark contacted members of the arts community, and a model grass-

roots coalition was formed.

Betty Ann Kram, the coordinator and only paid member of the coalition, worked for nine months to bring the Caravan to Syracuse for four days. "The beauty of our coalition was that the members had no prior contact with each other—we have people who voted for Reagan, we have people from all over," Kram says. "This is the kind of issue that transcends political barriers." With a steering committee of 10 people, Kram's coalition raised \$5600 to cover promotional and rental fees, found housing for all of the PAND performers and staff, printed 65,000 publicity fliers, and organized pot-luck suppers for the artists.

"Lots of people would assume that the people who donated money for this were all left-wing radicals, but really, that's not the case," says Betty Wiles, fundraiser for the coalition. "We've got some of the pillars of the community in this—doctors, lawyers, political conservatives."

The Syracuse Coalition seized the opportunity to educate theatergoers. At each of the 15 Caravan performances, dozens of pamphlets from freeze and peace organizations were on hand. In addition, every program contained a two-page insert with step-by-step instructions for becoming an active member of the peace movement. Weeks before PAND's arrival in Syracuse, Jim Clark distributed the coalition's publicity fliers to 12,000 Syracuse Stage subscribers. "One guy was really angry that we were welcoming this type of theater to the Stage," says Clark, "but I think part of the point of art is to stir up and not just entertain."

The Caravan received extensive media coverage while in Syracuse, with local television crews at every outdoor Bread and Puppet festivity, and theater critics at the evening performances. An editorial in the May 11 issue of the city's *Post Standard* urged Syracuse residents to attend the Caravan's performances, ex-

pressing an attitude that was not, however, universally shared. Syracuse Common Councilor Edward Nowakowski, referring to the grant given to the Caravan by the New York State Council on the Arts, said that there is "no excuse for spending money from the taxpayers to fund a group with an anti-government stance." And Anthony Bouscaren, professor of political science at nearby Lemoyne College, called the PAND Caravan "a bunch of dissenters." When asked if he planned to attend any of the PAND events, Bouscaren was adamant: "Heavens, no! I wouldn't be caught dead there! Would I go to a Nazi show?"

THE CARAVAN LINEUP

Ollie Clubb, a soft-spoken political science professor at Syracuse University who teaches a course on disarmament, is addressing an audience of 100 people after the Talking Band's production of *Soft Targets* at the Experimental Theater.

"One of the most important things that this play was about is assuming responsibility," Clubb says. "Once you begin to do the kinds of things depicted in this play, you can reach other people who are terrified of nuclear war, but who just put it out of their minds."

A man's hand goes up. "How is it that artists, creators, can deal with the subject of extinction?" he asks. Paul Zimet, director of *Soft Targets*, replies, "We turn it around and think about what is precious in life. We wanted to make a piece that wasn't just about the horrors of war, but about what was worth preserving."

Another question: "How can you reach the people that really need to hear your message? All of us are already sympathetic." Zimet answers, "I think the important thing is to give energy to each other. This is hard work, discouraging work and frightening work, and if our play gave back some energy to encourage people to go out and continue, then that's enough."

JoAnne Akalaitis drops into a chair in her dressing room as an audience of 200 files out of Syracuse's Civic Center Theater, bringing to a close the last PAND performance of Mabou Mines' *Dead End Kids—A History of Nuclear Power*. Incorporating film, dance, electronic sound effects and displays of magic, the production—so highly technical that it was staged only in Albany and Syracuse—is relentlessly cerebral. Before the PAND tour, Mabou Mines visited Toronto, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Milwaukee and Seattle with *Dead End Kids*, and the show enjoyed a long run in Manhattan. "We're not trying to make things easy for the audience," Akalaitis says.



Zaloom: Countering gloom and doom

"We refuse to condescend to them. If the play is baffling, it's more stimulating."

While some of the artists on the Caravan have made nuclear issues an integral part of their lives, the bottom line with Akalaitis is theater. "We are not trying to reach a specific audience, we're aiming for theatrical excellence," says Akalaitis. "We're not trying to do an antinuclear *Chorus Line*." But a nationally distributed film version of *Dead End Kids* will, she says, "provide a perfect opportunity to spread the word."

★ ★ ★

"I wanna go on wakin' up, and cookin', and doin' hair, and lovin' my husband," says the southern beautician Loretta in a monodrama created, written, and performed by Rebecca Wells at the Plymouth Congregational Church in Syracuse before 70 people. *Permanent Wave* is the story of Loretta's nuclear awakening. The issue hits home when she hears a "lady doctor" describe what a nuclear holocaust would do to hair. Loretta writes a concerned letter to President Reagan, admonishing him, "if nothing else, please—think of your looks."

Wells, raised in Louisiana as a "southern belle," now lives in Seattle, where she established a PAND chapter, conducts nuclear awareness workshops, and tours Seattle schools as part of a nuclear education program. She has enjoyed the audience contact while on the Caravan. "The people feel they can talk to me because I do a piece that's so hands-on," Wells says. "It's non-intellectual, non-leftist, and outside of the liberal, college educated world that so many of us live in. What I found on the Caravan is that people really want to talk—they hope you have some answers, some sort of hint on how to get at what's important."

★ ★ ★

Comedian Paul Zaloom stands in front of the capacity audience in the Syracuse Stage's Sutton Pavillion, dressed as a civil defense buff in coveralls and cap plastered with badges. In his one-man show, *Do It Now*, Zaloom, choking on patriotic enthusiasm, summarizes helpful hints gleaned from FEMA nuclear evacu-



Wells: Grass-roots drama that's hands-on

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A Conscious Choice

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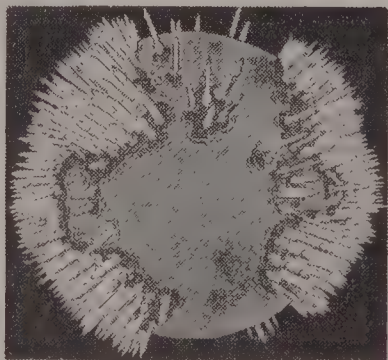


Acceptable Risk? 37 min

The nuclear age in the U.S.

(video, filmstrip, or slideshow)

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In Our Own Backyards: 29 min

Uranium Mining in the U.S.

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• COVER •

ation plans. "Question: What about the pets?" Zaloom asks. Well, since pets are not included in the emergency plan, FEMA advises leaving them at home "with an adequate supply of food and water."

The comic pores over newspapers and magazines to find topics for his shows because he feels that nuclear reality is far more interesting than anything he can invent. "Take the FEMA plan," Zaloom says. "It's so ludicrous, so insanely crazy, that it's a goldmine for a comic."

Zaloom has been to virtually every town on the Caravan tour. "The right-wing calls us gloom and doom freaks, and they're right," he says. "We need humor and lightness in our ranks. Sure, we're reaching people who are generally sympathetic to the cause. But are they *active*? I think a lot of people who saw the Caravan who weren't doing anything will now become activists. To me, that's the best part of our work. People decide to act on ideas that we've generated—how much more creative can you get?"

★ ★ ★

Over 150 people in the Experimental Theater are on their feet, applauding wildly for the 13 dancers on stage. "What a fantastic way for the Caravan to end!" Betty Ann Kram says. "I'm euphoric." Among the people crowding to the stage to talk with the dancers is Pat Rector, a local activist. "Seeing those bodies on stage, moving so splendidly, really drove home the beauty, the vulnerability, and the threat all at once," she says.

The Caravan Dancers came together when Dancers for Disarmament, a Manhattan-based group, was asked to form an ensemble for the PAND venture. Their program of seven dances deals mainly with the issue of nuclear war. "This is the first time I've been able to find a place to be active politically," says troupe member Myrna Packer. "We were angry about the issue, and now we can attack it through something we love and do best."

Although there have been problems—the dance group lacks a director, and some performers feel that they've given up considerable career momentum in order to be a part of the Caravan—the members do not doubt their effectiveness. "It's wonderful to see how moved people are by our work," dancer Carey Erikson comments. "I think that dance somehow allows ideas to break through, almost on an unconscious level."

★ ★ ★

What will happen to the Caravan now that the New York State tour is over? "There is clearly the intention to have a

second incarnation of the Caravan," says Falk, who is eager to connect with other PAND chapters and set up regional tours.

But changes will be made. At a meeting in New York City on May 18, PAND artists and Board members agreed that the next Caravan should be less ambitious; not only would a smaller Caravan be less expensive (the \$100,000 tour left New York PAND \$30,000 in the red), but the problem of several groups "competing" against each other for audiences in one community would be eliminated as well. Attendance at several shows, especially on college campuses, was poor. And communication between PAND staff members and local organizers—so well coordinated in Syracuse—was far less effective in other cities.

In keeping with the gypsy-like nature of the Caravan, many felt that the low-tech, go-anywhere style of the Bread and Puppet Theater, Paul Zaloom and Rebecca Wells would be particularly appropriate for future projects. And community outreach will be a priority next time around. Greater efforts will be made to perform for schools, blue-collar workers, and, in particular, minority communities. In order to facilitate this, PAND members are thinking of expanding their focus to include issues such as racism and U.S. intervention in Third World countries. PAND would like to assemble a full-time staff to conduct extensive research of potential "host" communities, so that working links with local disarmament groups could be made well ahead of time.

The PAND members gathered for this post-mortem meeting—some visibly exhausted, others critical—nonetheless share a strong sense of a job well done. "I think we managed to avoid the didacticism that threatens so many political organizations," says producer Tarzian. "We've reached people by affirming, by doing. We went beyond abstracts to action."

His words bring to mind one last Syracuse scene: a rainy day, a lake, and a group of PAND performers and Syracuse organizers. Rick Wallace, company manager for the tour, raises his glass of wine in a toast. "All through this tour, there has been powerful inspiration, both for the communities we visited and the artists themselves. We can all use that inspiration to move forward now. I really feel that—in Syracuse especially—we accomplished all that we set out to do."

"We didn't stop nuclear war!" someone shouts.

Wallace looks up. "Maybe not," he says, quietly. "But we're working on it."

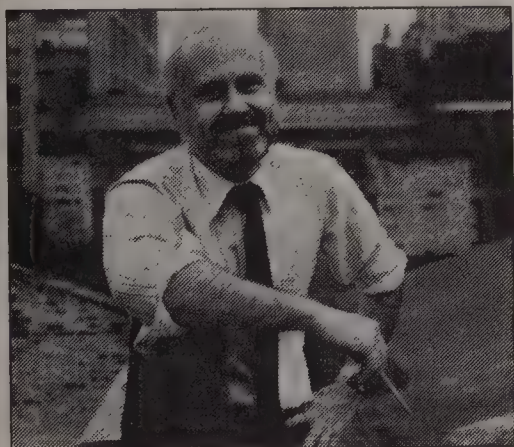
—Renata Rizzo

Movement Passes Screen Test



The gathering in a Denver home one evening late last year might have seemed like the beginning of a Tupperware party until the organizer, Lorraine Garcia of the local chapter of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), arrived. Garcia brought with her a 16mm projector and a print of the film, *The Last Epidemic*.

This meeting in a Hispanic neighborhood was the first in an AFSC pilot project to use media to link Reaganomics and nuclear war. Garcia introduced the film with a discussion of military spending in



Weiss: Pioneering the uses of film

the Denver area. After watching the film, and sorting out reactions—which ranged from tears to anger—viewers committed themselves to taking action, some writing letters immediately afterward. Garcia asked if others would be willing to host similar screenings, and many volunteered. The “house meetings,” which started in low-income neighborhoods, spread to other sections of the city.

The Resource Center for Nonviolence in Santa Cruz, California, the primary distributor of *The Last Epidemic*, estimates that almost 500 prints of the film have been sold since 1981 and 200 rentals were processed in the past year alone. The Center’s office coordinator, Douglas Rand, says that 1000 video tapes of the film are also in circulation.

The documentary, produced by Eric and Ian Thiermann, shows speakers relating the effects of nuclear war at a Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) conference. Despite the film’s “talking heads” approach, the power of its message has had a galvanizing effect, according to Rand. After screening *The Last Epidemic*, town meetings and city councils have moved to take action on the arms race and related issues, such as cut-

ting off civil defense preparedness funds, he adds. Using this film, and others, PSR in Honolulu was able to raise its membership from 12 to 160.

These experiences dramatize the growing role of media as an educational and outreach tool for the disarmament movement. In a report released this month, entitled “Mobilizing Media,” Media Network, a national clearinghouse for film and audio-visual resources based in New York, describes the experiences of groups using 16mm films, videos and locally-produced slide shows. Media Network’s report states that in almost every city there is now a peace center, antinuclear coalition or freeze office, “and for every one of these offices, there is a slide or film projector.” The report continues: “Media no longer can be seen as an extra or luxury, but an integral part of organizing for disarmament.”

CREATIVE “CHAOS”

This summer, Media Network itself is sponsoring over 100 community-based screenings/discussions in New York City on issues related to the arms race. Media Network Director Marc Weiss contends that the disarmament movement has “pioneered many uses of the film at the grass-roots level.” Citing just one example, Weiss says that he has never heard of “using films to get city councils to pass resolutions.” And Weiss calls “unprecedented” the establishment of resource centers devoted to audio-visual material on just one political issue. These decentralized offices, such as the Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race in Pasadena, California, and Nukewatch in Madison, Wisconsin, give grass-roots groups the chance to “get the films locally, and at much lower cost” than was previously possible, according to Weiss.

Despite the successes detailed in the Media Network report, Weiss maintains that the resources “are still not being utilized near their full potential.” One purpose of the report, Weiss says, is to warn groups not to “fall into the trap of thinking that films organize people. . . . People organize people.” He adds, “And the media are only as good as the people who are consciously using them. A good film can have a terrible result if it’s shown in the wrong context or if it doesn’t help people get beyond a numbing or shocking effect and move them to action.”

As an example, Weiss cites *The Last Epidemic*, which “if used without proper preparation will leave people hopeless and powerless at the end.” In a guide to

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New films for activists

ATOMIC ARTIST

A new film by Glenn Silber and Claudia Vianello

Tony Price is a sculptor who has lived and worked near the Los Alamos National Laboratory for the last 20 years. From materials found in the scrapheap outside of the lab, Price has fashioned a fantastic menagerie of pieces, literally "beating swords into plowshares." *ATOMIC ARTIST* shows graphically some of Price's best work, and is a stimulating look at how one artist views his responsibility to keep people awake to the critical issues of their time.

29 minutes 1983 Rental: \$50 Purchase: \$495

GODS OF METAL

A film by Robert Richter for the Maryknolls

A moving look at the nuclear arms race and the people around the country who are trying to stop it. The film explores the economic and social effects of the arms build-up, and shows concrete actions by groups and individuals to stop it, concluding with the wave of demonstrations around the world in the spring of 1982.

Nominated for the Academy Award, Best Documentary Short, 1982

27 minutes 1982 Rental: \$50 Purchase: \$325

THE UNQUIET DEATH OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG

A film by Alvin Goldstein

Providing an excellent background on the first Cold War, *UNQUIET DEATH* examines the many questions still surrounding the "Atom Spies" case. This year marks the 30th anniversary of the Rosenbergs' execution.

90 minutes 1975 Classroom rental: \$100 Purchase: \$1250



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using films on nuclear war the Traprock Peace Center in Deerfield, Massachusetts, commented on reports that the shocking documentary, *The War Game*, had been shown to a group of businessmen on their lunch hour, "leaving them time when the lights went on only to hurry back to work. . . ."

Another problem that is just emerging now is one of duplication, according to David Brown, who organized the Nuclear Film Forum in the San Francisco area in 1981 and a three-week festival of films and video tapes there last month. Brown, who is currently balancing work on a documentary, *Strategies for Survival*, with production of a film guide on nuclear issues, says, "There are several films coming out on the June 12 demonstration and there may be as many as 300 film producers applying to foundations for money." Weiss calls the situation "chaotic."

Despite the boom in antinuclear film production, such staples as *Dr. Strangelove* and *Fail-Safe* continue to fill an important role. As David Brown notes, the use of more popular entertainment media in festivals complements the "educational" productions. Marc Weiss adds that the commercial films often serve as effective fundraising tools, "while some of the educational films may not." Some groups pair a Hollywood film with a documentary mainly to draw viewers. The Jobs with Peace campaign in Bridgeport, Connecticut, for example, ran an unlikely double feature of *Lady Sings the Blues* and *Whose Budget Is It Anyway?*

BACK TO GRASS ROOTS

Like the peace movement itself in the past year, many filmmakers have gotten a little out of touch with the grass roots. This is a particular problem for groups attempting to reach poor and minority communities.

"There is not much of the nuclear media that relates to the experience of Third World and black people," says Job Mashariki of the Black Veterans for Social Justice in Brooklyn. This led Blacks Against Nukes (BAN) in Washington, D.C., to "produce our own [media] to reach our primary audience," according to BAN's Brenda Johnson. BAN travels to local high schools and churches, and as far away as Atlanta, with two slide shows.

The New Mexico Peace Conversion Project, on the other hand, felt there was a good deal of material available on the conversion issue—but nothing that spoke to their local concerns. So the project got funding from the AFSC to make a slide show with taped narrative about military installations in their state. Us-

ing a nuclear mapping kit put out by National Action Research on the Military Industrial Complex (NARMIC) as a guide, students in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, filmed local scenes and wrote their own narrative script entitled, "What Would Happen If a One-megaton Bomb Were Dropped on Lancaster?"

The need for films that deal with grass-roots issues is increasing for another reason. "The mainstream media after June 12 seems to have lost interest in covering grass-roots work," Marc Weiss points out. "They will cover a debate in Congress or a speech by the president, and that will be the way they deal with the nuclear arms issue."

The movement, too, has perhaps emphasized certain aspects of the nuclear issue at the expense of others. "I think we have quite a bit of information on the medical implications of nuclear war," comments Karen Sayer, a film consultant for the University of Michigan's Audio Visual Library, which holds the largest collection of nuclear-related films in the country. "We don't need more. . . . We need media that doesn't just preach to the committed, material that is not angry or casting blame, something that shows the problems and the need for us to work on them together."

This probably means that more and more groups will attempt to make their own productions, at least on a modest scale. This may prove particularly effective in getting time on public access television (or "accessing," as it is known in the cable trade).

One recent project brought together the National Federation of Local Cable Programmers and Ground Zero. The organizations, both headquartered in Washington, D.C., cooperated on Ground Zero's "Firebreaks" project during April. A 10-minute tape called "Thinking About Nuclear War" was produced and aired over 60 public access stations across the country. The groups also produced a manual on how to set up panel discussions, develop program ideas and produce similar material.

Ellis Woodward, Ground Zero spokesman, estimates the total audience for the cable programs at several hundred thousand. "Firebreaks" became a media event in itself, according to Woodward, with national television shows like *20/20* covering it. "We need to provide the media now with something new and refreshing," Woodward says. Self-production, he adds, "is reaching out in an unfiltered way and is a real benefit for us."

—John Demeter

John Demeter is director of Star Film Library in Boston.

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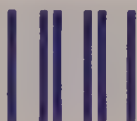
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—Dr. Helen Caldicott

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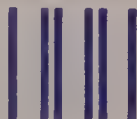
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Icons And Images For Peace



The spectacle of colorful banners, posters, drawings and stencils at the June 12 mass rally in New York last year seems to have attracted

many artists from across the country to the antinuclear movement, in some cases before their politics were clearly formed. Many wondered how they could adapt their work to the issue. How, for example, can landscape artists execute an anti-war theme? And what are other powerful images besides the mushroom cloud?

There seems to be no single influence or school of antinuclear art. It has a wide variety of media, from simple charred clay pottery to 1960s-style agitprop. One could, like New York artist Eva Cockcroft, furtively, but with subsequent wide press coverage, stencil city walls and subways with Reagan caricatures, "life forms" (fish, birds), and madonnas, believing, like conceptual artist Christo, that the process of putting art on display is part of the art. Or one could engage in the type of performance art demonstrated by New York Denture's Art Club artists Stan Kaplan and John Gianacinni when, at the beginning of the June 12 rally, they released 3000 balloons stencil-

that will help make the movement more visible and popular.

For a week in late May the Massachusetts chapter of AFS ran an antinuclear art exhibit in the Cannon House Office Building on Capitol Hill. The exhibit, which opened with a speech by its leading congressional proponent, Representative Edward Markey, took place under certain stipulations (no nudity, no Reagan caricatures). But for AFS the exhibit served its primary mandate—to use art to increase the degree of participation in the movement.

Toward this end AFS also designed its "Save Life on Earth" poster. Believing that a person carrying a placard feels more involved if he or she made it, AFS distributed green two-by-three foot cards bearing a white center for people to fill with a sketch of their favorite life form. The poster project dispels the notion that political art is stylized, repetitious, unable to adapt itself to the concerns of everyday life. "Save Life on Earth" tempts people, even challenges them, to take part.

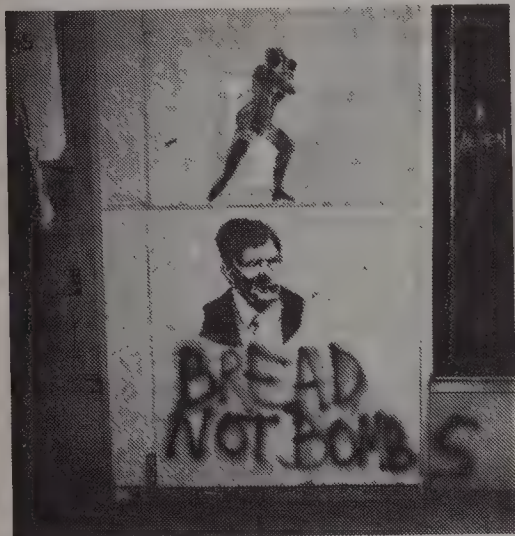
DISARMING IMAGES

Galleries, libraries, and schools are be-

ginning to host antinuclear art shows, at least in the larger cities. In some cases artists are being commissioned to create works with antinuclear themes. The National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, which claims a membership of mostly black and Hispanic women, has a Bread and Roses Cultural Project which is commissioning pieces for its major exhibit, "Disarming Images: Art for Nuclear Disarmament." The exhibit is scheduled to open in April of 1984 in New York and then travel the country, starting in Los Angeles during the Summer Olympic Games in July 1984.

The advisory board of "Disarming Images" is made up of 44 celebrities from labor, art, entertainment and the peace movement. The exhibit has attracted commitments from such artists as Laurie Anderson, Keith Haring, Robert Longo and Claes Oldenburg.

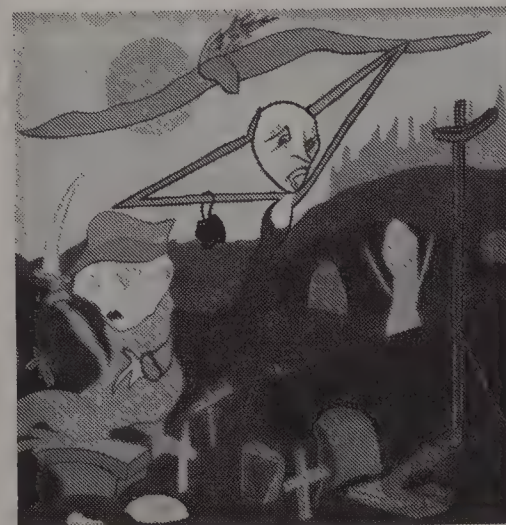
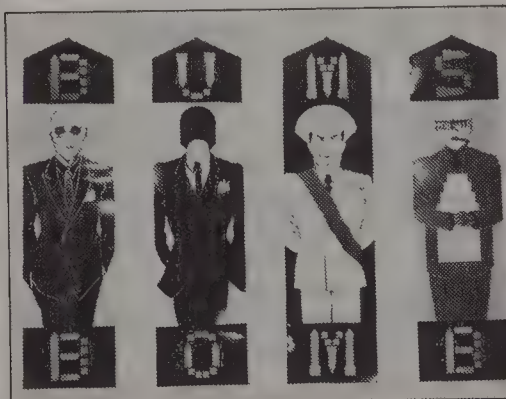
Not all the pieces for the exhibit have to be commissioned. "What became apparent very quickly," says curator Nina Selshin, "was that major artists had already done things. So why execute new works when perfectly good ones already existed?" The exhibit will feature paintings, drawings, photographs, and sculptures in a variety of styles, but excludes abstract. Abstract work, Selshin explains, is "not read that easily by lots of people. We felt it would turn people off." Abstract artists committed to the issue will no doubt object to this decision, and



Stencils designed by Eva Cockcroft

led with the words "Good-bye to Nuclear Weapons."

The balloon cloud has since become part of the iconography of the event, and has also been appropriated by WNBC television in New York as an advertising image. Not long ago similar use of political art might have been widely regarded as co-optation. Today, however, groups such as Artists for Survival (AFS), which has chapters in Waltham, Massachusetts, and Los Angeles, encourage using art in a variety of ways



Ilona Granet's "Bums Bomb" (top); Eugene Narrett's "The President's Funeral"

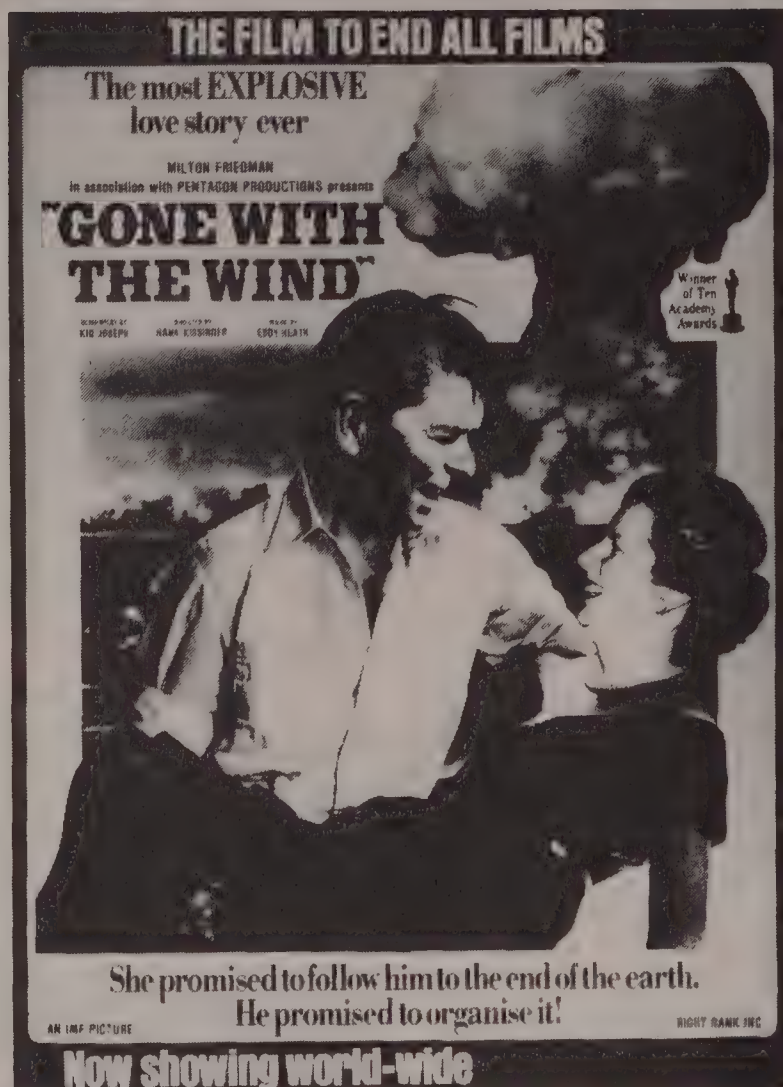


Do-it-yourself AFS placard

may even be confused about where the line between abstract and non-abstract art has been drawn.

MEASURING EFFECT

Many antinuclear groups are searching for the ideal symbiosis between painting and photography through the inclusion of photographs in shows, and using the largely unexplored audio-visual medium. Slides of paintings accompanied by narration often reach organizations with neither space for hanging artwork nor funds



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for insuring it. Also, people who don't bother to read the quotes accompanying antinuclear exhibits often listen raptly to the same information if a show is sparked by dramatic narrative flair.

Another appeal of slide shows is their fast pace. Images flashed on the screen for a second or less give the viewer no time to analyse in detail, explore layers of subtlety, or to find defects in execution, but they can stimulate the viewer to explore the subject further. Many of the paintings used in these shows are single-concept works suited both for instantaneous viewing and contemplation. Examples are Suzanne Hodes' "Adam and Eve," holding, instead of an apple, the "doomsday" clock from the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, and Sharon Lapham's "Spaceship Earth," showing blackened vegetation.

How does antinuclear art affect the viewer? Because there is no unity of intent among the wide range of artists, it is very difficult to generalize about the effects of their work. And viewers naturally bring their own political and aesthetic standards to bear. At the AFS Washington, D.C., exhibit, for instance, comments written in the visitors' book ranged from "Fantastic. How do we get the President over to view it?" to "I'd like you to set up this show in Red Square or Estonia or Poland or Afghanistan. Sure war is hell, but so is life under communism."

Roy Brown, an artist who participated in an AFS exhibit last fall at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, recalls the wide variety of works in the show. "What do you exclude?" he asked, "You could have a landscape untouched by bombs and call it 'Antinuclear Landscape.' Any still life could be a 'non-nuclear still life.' Anything life-affirming, by virtue of its existence, becomes antinuclear."

David Brown of Artists for Nuclear Disarmament in New York shares this belief. "If an artist hangs a work in an anti-Bomb show," Brown says, "it's his or her personal commitment to the struggle. We can't say 'you're out, you're in' in this case. Abstract, minimal, and figurative art will all be destroyed by the Bomb." A West German group, *Kunstler für Frieden* (Artists for Peace), is soliciting slides of American works to be put on posters. The group requires that the artists draft and sign statements to appear below their work. The idea of an individual, non-aligned work of art, didactic perhaps, but not dogmatic, is finding adherents on both sides of the Atlantic.

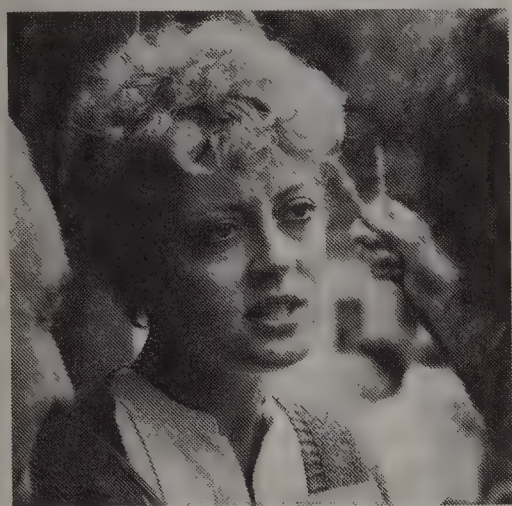
—Peter Bates

Peter Bates is a freelance writer and photographer in Boston.

Antinuclear Stars Come Out



Susan Sarandon goes on *The Tonight Show* and makes a point of mentioning nuclear disarmament. Meryl Streep arranges for the New York premiere of *Eight Minutes to Midnight*. Burt Lancaster interviews a Hiroshima survivor for an antinuclear documentary. Anne Meara flies to Boston to tell local women about her own fears for survival. And as the last episode of *M*A*S*H* approaches, Mike Farrell is at a Washington, D.C., press conference urging members of Congress to support the freeze.



Susan Sarandon lends movement visibility

These celebrities are among the several dozen stars who have assisted the antinuclear weapons movement. And while some, most notably Paul Newman, are continuing a long history of activism, this issue has inspired others to make their first political commitment. Two factors are aiding them. The cause is so broad-based that celebrities can endorse it without losing popular appeal or being charged with engaging in "radical chic." And since the movement makes a point of calling on non-experts, it lets stars speak as average people—who happen to be very visible.

The stars were out in force, for example, during last fall's successful freeze referendum campaign in California. The celebrities were "helpful and generous beyond belief," says campaign chairman Harold Willens. Margot Kidder accompanied Willens on a statewide speaking tour; Judd Hirsch and Lorna Patterson were also very active. And when a dozen stars entertained at the Wilshire Ebell Theater in Los Angeles, an event which raised over \$40,000 for the campaign, one of the women in the chorus was President Reagan's daughter, Patti Davis.

Several stars have allied themselves

with grass-roots organizations—Martin Sheen with the War Resisters League (WRL), Tony Randall and Jill Clayburgh with SANE, Jane Alexander with Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND). From there, the level of commitment varies. According to Linda Feldman, who coordinated special events for the California freeze, some stars sympathetic to the cause were only willing to attend a rally and be introduced from the audience.

But small acts can mean a lot to groups struggling for credibility and media access. "The involvement of stars was imperative to creating early awareness," says Lillian Colavecchio, coordinator of WAND's Millions of Moms campaign. Colavecchio undertook "endless phone calls" to try to convince celebrities of WAND's credibility. Once you've won over some performers, adds Karl Bissinger of WRL, they can return the favor by persuading others. "Martin Sheen signed a letter attacking the Euromissiles which we used in a large mass mailing," Bissinger reports. "Of course, his name helped the cause. It also told people he's checked our group out and doesn't think it will hurt his career to join us."

B.J. AND RENKO

One reason WRL approached Sheen was his appearance in *Gandhi*. (He also appeared in the low-budget documentary about the Plowshares Eight, *In the King of Prussia*.) Obviously stars bring to the cause not just their fame but public identification with their characters. Yet according to Mike Farrell, a longtime activist concerned with the arms race and El Salvador, this is probably the worst argument for celebrity involvement: "If I give a talk, I want people to listen to me not because I'm B.J. from *M*A*S*H*, but because I make sense. We have to offer something else—if not expertise, then witness. So what I do is to *not* use B.J. in that situation."

Charles Haid of *Hill Street Blues*, however, feels his character helps him approach non-liberal audiences. "The reason my speeches worked is because of Renko," says Haid, who spoke in union halls and small towns for the freeze referendum in California. "People didn't expect *that* guy to support the freeze. They expected a cowpoke, maybe even a bit of a rightwinger."

Haid traces his concern to an experience in the Navy. He was assigned to a nuclear submarine on, as he puts it, "deterrence missions," off the coast of the

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Soviet Union in the 1960s. One day he was sent to get milk and sugar for coffee. "They were kept in the missile hangar," he relates, "and in order to reach them I found myself straddling a hydrogen bomb [warhead]. All of a sudden I realized what this death machine could destroy."

"That's the sort of thing I tell people. I really am an all-American guy who loves this country, and it comes across. I say, I'm just a guy who likes to sit on the beach—and I want the beach to be there."

Haid also talks about the freeze during some of his own media appearances. "The talk shows call up," he explains, "and you say you want to talk about your garden. Then you go on and mention the freeze. It's so simple it's ridiculous."

Celebrities can also lend movement leaders access to television. When *The Merv Griffin Show* was asked to devote an hour to nuclear issues, "their response was 'get us some stars and we'll do it,'" says Pat Kingsley, a publicity agent in Los Angeles who volunteers as media coordinator for Helen Caldicott. Lily Tomlin and Sally Field accompanied Caldicott on the program, "and the response was tremendous," Kingsley says. "Then once you get on one show, it's easy to get on others."

But working with the media can also create headaches. WAND is sitting on three radio spots featuring Beverly Sills, Sally Field and Goldie Hawn, and a television spot with Meryl Streep, all of whom urge mothers to protect their children by preventing nuclear war. "The spots are non-controversial public service announcements," says Kingsley. "Not a single station would run them."

Groups able to pay for air time have had better luck overcoming the gray area of the equal time laws. With Norman Lear's creative help, the California freeze campaign ran a commercial on television starring Paul Newman, Jack Lemmon and Carrol O'Connor.

In fact, nuclear issues feature in so many upcoming television projects that they may be growing fashionable. Farrell, who insists he's had "no repercussions" from his activism, is now reading two television scripts about children's fear of nuclear war. But he also warns against what can happen "when topics get hot and commercial elements get hold of them."

ONE FROM THE HEART

How can groups best utilize the services of celebrities? "You have to know what you're doing and what you need them to do," Feldman reports. Since stars were often "very self-conscious"

about speaking on the issue, the California freeze campaign briefed them on common questions and made sure they always shared a podium with a scientist or another expert. "Then," she says, "we'd encourage the star to speak from the heart."



Haid: Using Renko's cowpoke image

One way for groups to contact celebrities is through Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament. PAND has an active speaker/performer bureau of sympathetic celebrities, such as Harry Belafonte. But PAND president Florence Falk says that the office is deluged with requests, and she warns against depending too much on the famous. "Celebrities have a special function—we all know it and so do they," Falk says, "but when people say 'we need a celebrity,' it's disconcerting. Not treating actors as people does a disservice to everyone."

Inevitably, there are negative aspects to celebrity involvement. One actress went on *Phil Donahue* last year and screamed about survival so uncontrollably that she appeared silly. And at least one television news show covering a San Francisco freeze benefit did its best to imply that the audience was more roused by Paul Newman than by fears of Armageddon. Yet some activists argue that to assume that non-experts shouldn't voice an opinion on this issue plays into the hands of the nuclear policy-makers.

"If people say, 'why should I listen to this actor,' it's an emotional cop-out, and I tell them so," says Farrell. "The celebrity phenomenon is not something I created. But if I can take the glamor that's attendant on me and then de-glamorize myself—and by extension others, like the experts—then maybe I can help people understand that it's all of us in this together."

—Cathy Cevoli

Cathy Cevoli is a freelance writer in New York.

As artists, writers, actors, and musicians we are deeply concerned about the future of our planet. Each of us, in his or her own private way, has conjured up an image of a world without art, without literature, without song, without life. And each of us, in his or her own public way, has tried to communicate the horror of this nightmare to our fellow citizens. We have seen the future and we are scared.

Like all bad dreams, however, the nuclear nightmare can be dispelled. Around the world, in one nation after another, people are awakening from the forty-year slumber induced by the mesmerists of nuclear war. They are beginning to imagine another future—a future without nuclear weapons, a future without the pervasive fear of total annihilation, a future without war itself.

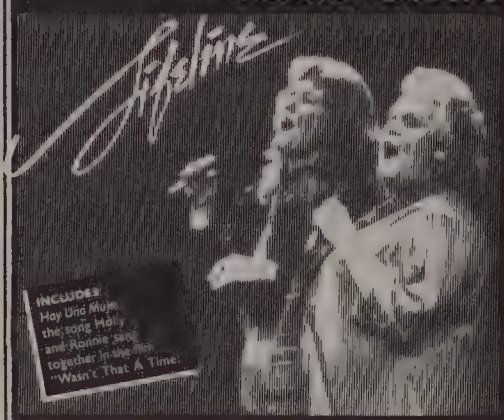
As artists, we are all in the business of using our imaginations. Were we in charge of things we would simply make the world's nuclear arsenals vanish into thin air. We would fill our missile silos with wheat and beat our nose cones into plowshares. But we are not in charge of things. For now, we can only imagine and encourage others to imagine along with us.

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Writing about nuclear war nothing new for Asian American poets like Mirikitani

creating not only works of art, but effective forms of protest as well. "A good poet has access to some of the unprotected areas of a reader's mind that are inured to rhetoric," suggests Davis.

It would be unfair to imply that poets just recently became aware of nuclear arms. William Carlos Williams and Robert Lowell wrote about Hiroshima and its aftermath decades ago. And for years American Third World poets, such as Asian American poet Mirikitani, have criticized what they see as racist aspects of the country's defense policy and its increased militarization at the expense of minorities.

Aside from the ubiquitous problem of political organizations remaining financially solvent—Poets for Peace has "no money," says one organizer—there are other factors that can mute poetry's impact on the nuclear arms issue. Basically, poets lack a large audience in the United States. Also, unlike writers of political speeches and editorials, many poets hedge at becoming didactic. "I don't write poetry thinking 'I hope someone reads this and then has a sit-in at the Pentagon,'" says Kathy Engel, who is also a political activist. "Poetry is offering your version of the truth. You can't tell people what to do. You just hope it moves them." Or as William Stafford says, "Poems are not very good guides for action."

There have been grumblings that nuclear weaponry has become a "bandwagon" issue for American poets. "But to hell with that," poet Aaron Kramer says. "Poets must speak out. On this issue, silence is a terrible thing." —Daniel Barry

Daniel Barry is a freelance writer in New York.

SHORT SUBJECTS

Disarming Approaches



What follows is meant not as a guide to, but rather a hint of the flowering of antinuclear arts projects across the country. From the Cornerstone Peace Theater in Colorado, to *Legacy* in Ohio, to the 4th Wall Repertory in New York to the feminist *At The Foot Of The Mountain* in Massachusetts, there are dozens of theater groups that could not be covered here. The same is true of video- and filmmakers, graphic artists, dancers, quilters, jugglers, singers and many, many more.

FILM: ATOMIC ARTIST

An eerie chiming sound. The desert terrain at day-break or sunset. These could be opening frames of a film about the Dawn of Mankind, but they aren't. The subject instead is a painter and sculptor from New York named Tony Price who traveled to New Mexico in 1965 and found artistic material that would last him for years. Price's supply store would be the salvage yard for nuclear weapon experiments conducted at the Los Alamos National Laboratory.

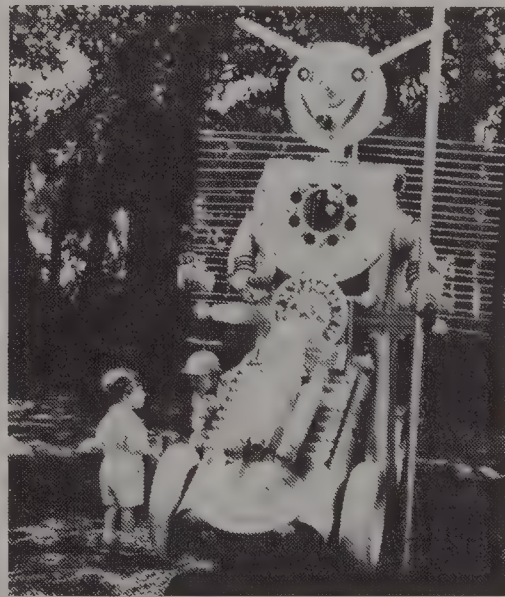
Atomic Artist is a half-hour documentary produced by Glenn Silber (also known for *El Salvador: Another Vietnam*, and *The War At Home*) and Claudia Vianello, both of Catalyst Media Productions in Venice, California. The film has been shown at the London International Film Festival and at festivals around the United States.

Some of the first scenes are shot at the salvage yard with Ed Grothus, a former Los Alamos engineer, describing the attitude among engineers at the lab. They see themselves, according to Grothus, as technicians, not decision-makers, simply executing the orders of the Department of Defense. Then attention turns to Price as he prowls through heaps of exotic metals, plastics and glass in practically every conceivable size, shape and color. Price displays open enthusiasm for the materials, praising the artistry of the engineers who produced them. Once Price has chosen his supplies he weighs them out with a yard attendant, paying 25¢ a pound. For years he didn't bother checking his supplies with a geiger counter. Now he does, he says, because he suspects that he has gotten a lot of radiation in his hands. Producer Silber says Price also takes more precaution because one of his early pieces was discovered to emit low levels of radiation.

The film showcases Price's sculptures,

creations that seem to have come from Stonehenge by way of an aerospace industry trade show. Price's nuclear art also furnishes much of his house, even the high-chair for his daughter—it has a tray fashioned from an orange and black "Danger: Radiation" sign. In August 1969 Price's nuclear interior-design collection, including everything from chairs to dinner plates, was exhibited in a New York gallery, and created a splash of publicity.

Price also works with bronze, jade and marble, but his passion is obviously for modern-day metallurgy—transforming junked mass-destruction technology into life-affirming works of art. Like other pioneering artists in the past, Price's work may be taking its toll. A friend talks of Price "giving himself up to the radiation," but doesn't criticize the artist for it. Referring to Price as an "absolute soldier/warrior/artist doing battle at the highest level," the friend says "maybe everything else is just dabbling," when placed in the context of threatened nuclear annihilation.



"The Knight"—one of Price's superpowers

When the desert winds pick up they vibrate the metal sculptures, giving play to Price's "nuclear chimes." It is a sound that the film leaves echoing in the air long after the projector has shut off.

MUSEUM: FROM PETE SEEGER TO U2

"We're going to be telling history in a unique way," says Marianne Philbin at Chicago's Peace Museum. "We'll take people from the Weavers to the Clash." Philbin is referring to the museum's exhibit *Give Peace a Chance: Music and the*

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Struggle for Peace, opening on September 11 and running through the end of January. The show will trace the development of the peace movement by exhibiting a wide range of memorabilia from the musicians who made it sing—Pete Seeger, Joan Baez, Stevie Wonder, Yoko Ono and John Lennon, to name a few.

Researchers have been working for nine months compiling a detailed account of 20th century peace music for inclusion in the exhibit's official catalog. "This has been like a treasure hunt," Philbin says. "No other compilation of this sort has ever been made." To accommodate the scope of the project, the Peace Museum has arranged to house the exhibition in a neighboring building with 10,000 square feet to spare. The museum is also sponsoring a film festival, with video tapes of musicians such as Bob Marley and Phil Ochs, that will run concurrently with the peace music exhibit.

Yoko Ono, a driving force behind the exhibit, opened her archives to the museum. On display will be one of John Lennon's guitars, original song manuscripts, posters, photographs, and gold records. And Irish group U2 has contributed a stage set, complete with backdrops and props from the band's road show, "so that people—especially kids—can climb around on a stage and see what it feels like," Philbin says. Continuous music—including folk, rock, blues and jazz, depending on the musicians being featured—will be played in each room of the exhibition.

The Peace Museum, which opened in November 1981, is the only museum in the country that dedicates itself to education about peace issues. Past exhibits have included *The Unforgettable Fire* (the first U.S. exhibition of drawings by Hiroshima/Nagasaki survivors) and *Chicago Area Artists on Peace*.

VIDEO: BRINGING THE MESSAGE HOME

The Atlanta chapter of Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament (PAND) recently received a \$1500 grant from the city of Atlanta to produce a six-part video series scheduled for a fall airing on cable television. "This is a fantastic way for us to expand our audience," says PAND member Bill Fleming. "We can reach people in their livingrooms who would probably never come to see our work live."

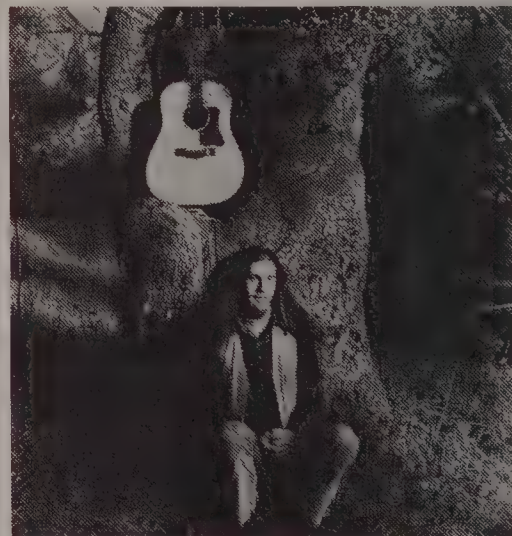
The series will include half-hour segments on such issues as the military budget, the church's role in the movement, children's perspectives, and the arts and disarmament. Plans are also in the works for Atlanta PAND to host a national video festival, and then take the whole show on a national tour.

Meanwhile, on the West Coast, video artists Joseph Tieger and Johanna Luther are producing programs for use as organizing tools at the local level. "This is video as if survival mattered," says *New Age Journal* of their work.

Luther and Tieger established Original Face Video in 1978, and since then have produced four antinuclear video tapes featuring Dr. Helen Caldicott and Daniel Ellsberg, among others. Topics for future productions include an examination of the ethnocentricity of the antinuclear movement. Original Face Video stresses the need for both political organizing and consciousness raising. "One without the other just doesn't do it," says Tieger. The artists rent and sell their tapes at low cost to make them accessible to all communities, and encourage local activists to get the tapes aired on cable television stations. For more information, contact Original Face Video, PO Box 447, Grass Valley, CA 95945 (916) 272-3568.

MUSIC: ANTINUCLEAR MINSTREL

In the past eight months folksinger Mark Levy, 32, has roved across the country in his converted Volkswagen camper singing for peace. Levy has appeared in 33 states promoting the antinuclear cause and, along the way, his com-



Levy: One-man antinuclear band

pany, New Clear Records. In September Levy will be releasing his third album, *Live and Nuclear-Free*, which will have one of the songs he says has been popular on the road—"Who Built the H-Bomb?" The tune poses the question in the sing-song nursery rhyme "Who killed cock robin?" with responses like "Not I, said the miner," and "Not I, said the banker." The point of the song, Levy says, is that everyone is responsible for helping to dismantle nuclear weapons.

Levy travels with his wife, Helene Oppenheimer, a high-school teacher who

disseminates peace and justice resources to schools and libraries. The couple stops at churches, campuses, labor union locals, farm collectives and nuclear facilities. Levy says that some of the most gratifying experiences the couple has had were in the "heartland," in small towns in states such as Ohio, Oklahoma and Alabama, where people, he has found, are especially appreciative of "outreach" efforts. The couple has encountered some hostility during the tour, but for the most part, Levy says, "people say 'We're really glad someone's doing this.'"

The couple plans to be in California and the Pacific Northwest this summer, and in southern climes this fall. For information, contact New Clear Productions, PO Box 559, Felton, CA 95018 (408) 425-5211, ext. 139.

COMEDY: LAUGHS ON THE ROAD

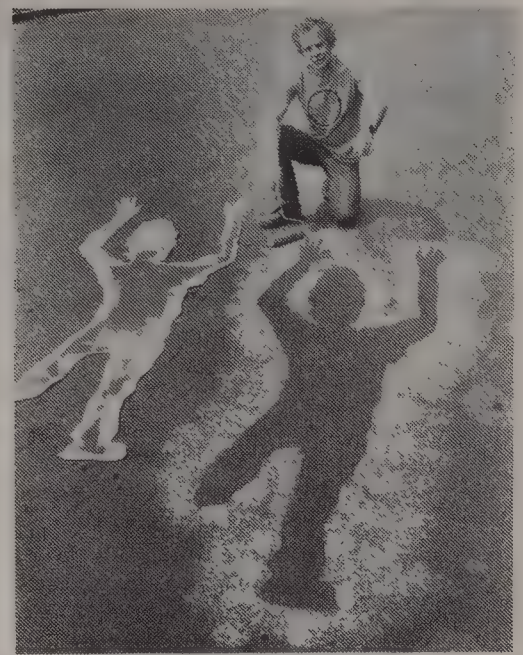
Barbara George, who bills herself as a "thrill-seeking, reckless entertainer," left New York on June 18 to embark on a three-month, 10-state tour with her solo comedy, *Everything I Ever Wanted To Ask About Nukes and Was Afraid To Know*. . . . George brings to her work a long association with comedy; she worked with the Second City Improv Cabaret, the Women's Experimental Theater, and co-produced New York's Radical Humor

Festival in 1982.

Everything I Ever Wanted To Ask About Nukes features six characters (all played by George), who present different facets of the Nuclear Age, from The Goddess who hawks "Uncle Ron's" jewelry made from "worn out metals in nuclear processing machines," to the Bikini Island Woman, who delivers a moving monologue on the devastation of her people and their land by U.S. nuclear testing. (For an itinerary of George's tour, see the Calendar on page 41.)

ART: YARD WORK

To oppose the notion of a mass graveyard caused by a nuclear war, 52-year-old Alan Gussow, a New York-based artist and president of Friends of the Earth Foundation, has created the LifeYard Project. Gussow's paintings and sculptures have been displayed in museums and private collections in the United States and Europe, and for 12 years he taught art at the Parsons School of Design and lectured widely. His view of art changed, however, when he came to the conclusion that art had become a commodity peripheral to society. He says his current work with LifeYards fills the function of art in primitive societies, an art that was central to the community and celebrated the attachments to life.



Gussow: Filling function of primitive art

Gussow's first LifeYard was dedicated in April 1982 in a state park in New York's lower Hudson River Valley. Thirty-three artists worked with the same medium—6-foot-high wooden posts that were once guard rails along an interstate highway. Each artist transformed one or more posts into a symbol of life. One sculptor carved the post into a tree with delicate branches and leaves. An-

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AMERICA—FROM HITLER TO M-X, is a new anti-war feature documentary directed by Joan Harvey (30 minutes; color). "A powerful hard-edged new anti-nuclear film from the same director and producers who made **WE ARE THE GUINEA PIGS**;"—London Film Festival. Purchase or Rental (16mm/1/2" or 3/4" videocassette) **PARALLEL FILMS** 314 West 91 St. N.Y.C., N.Y. 10024 (212) 580-3888 or 877-1573

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WRITERS FOR PEACE Newsletter (sample \$1), **TOMORROW'S WORLD**, A Book of Peace, by Armin D. Lehmann, the perfect gift to promote world peace (\$5.50 postpaid), **TEACHING PEACE** (sample lessons \$1 each), **PEACE TALKS** by Armin D. Lehmann (transcripts \$2.37 each), **FROM A PEACEMAKER'S NOTEBOOK** (\$1.20), **WRITERS FOR PEACE**, Box 110, Yachats, OR 97498.—Send SASE for free information.

Artists for Survival, Boston Area. Slide shows with tapes: 1) Dangers and Delightful Works; 2) **SAVE LIFE ON EARTH** Posters. Rental: \$25 each; purchase: \$80. Illustrate with your own blank Save Life on Earth posters. Poster weight: 50¢ each; paper weight: 25¢. Great for churches, schools, demonstrations. Do-it-yourself giant postcards: 20¢ each. 20 quotes by religious, military, political figures, handsomely lettered: \$5. 144 Moody Street, Waltham, MA 02154 (617) 891-4235.

Performing Artists For Nuclear Disarmament (PAND), 225 Lafayette Street, NY, NY 10012, (212) 431-7921. **September 29**, Symphony Space, 95th and Broadway. PAND begins its **MUSIC FOR SURVIVAL** chamber music series featuring America's finest Classical musicians. **October 1-2**. An educational conference for the performing and arts communities with political and professional workshops led by such people as Helen Caldicott, Daniel Ellsberg, Eliot Feld, Andre Gregory.

ASHES, ASHES, WE ALL FALL DOWN "... is one of the most moving, subtle, and politically effective pieces on the nuclear issue," said the **Village Voice**. This play, about the perils of remaining a private person in a nuclear mad world, **will be available on videotape, Fall 1983**. Write: **AT THE FOOT OF THE MOUNTAIN THEATRE**, 2000 South 5th Street, Minneapolis, MN 55454.

MEDIA NETWORK offers: a **clearinghouse for information** on films about the arms race and other issues; a **report** on creative uses of films for grassroots organizing in the peace movement; **guides** to media on Disarmament. Media Network 208 West 13th Street, NY, NY 10011 (212) 620-0877

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ARE YOU IN IT? C.C. Winter '83 issue now available, \$2.50 ea.: Subs. \$10.00. "Imagining the 80's," featuring June 12 and the Radical Humor Festival, Paul Buhle, Arlene Goldberg, C.L.R. James, Paul Krassner, Lucy P. Lippard, Robin Tyler, The **C.C. Directory of Arts Activism** Deadline for entries: Aug. 1. Send description/statement of purpose about your work. **ALL ENTRIES** will be published! **"We Want to Live!"** Art work from the June 12th, 1982 anti-nuke demo. in New York, 140 slides w/cassette soundtrack. Rent \$35: Purchase \$100. Cultural Correspondence, 505 West End Ave., New York, N.Y. 10024.

other encased a post in mirrors inscribed with the message: "What you see here is reason enough to wage peace."

The project, on display for a month, and seen by an estimated 4500 viewers, inspired Gussow to set up an office in Santa Cruz (where he was a visiting professor at the University of California last year) to coordinate LifeYards nationwide.

Two LifeYards opened in October 1982 and displayed for one and two months in San Francisco and Santa Cruz. The Santa Cruz artists worked with giant cubes, and the San Francisco artists, because they would be exhibiting in a 19th century church with no floorspace, worked with banners that were hung from the high ceilings. A new LifeYards is scheduled to open in downtown Pittsfield, Massachusetts, on July 9. It promises an outdoor display of sculpture, banners, flags and possibly kites. For information write to The LifeYard Project, PO Box 8215, Santa Cruz, CA 95061.

THEATER: PEACE CHILD ATTENDS SCHOOL

After successful productions in concert halls and cathedrals in London, Washington, D.C., and New York, *Peace Child* will be coming to dozens of schools across America this fall. "Our *Peace Child* study guide isn't even off the press yet, and already we have 50 orders from schools around the country," says the musical's British playwright David Woolcombe (who is also president of the U.S. branch of the Peace Child Foundation in Washington, D.C.).

Intended to work as a catalyst in the educational process, the message of *Peace Child* is that the arms race can be ended through the cultivation of international friendship. "When you get that number of people on stage singing and dancing for peace, you really can begin to change a community," says Woolcombe. The play can be performed by as few as 12 students—or as many as 300—and is intended for the 10-16 age group.

"A Peace Child Foundation has been established in Paris," says Woolcombe. "Next we're going to Japan, and eventually to the Soviet Union." Woolcombe's ambition is to have *Peace Child* performed in all languages of the world.

ART: A VISUAL PETITION

George Lane-Laumann went home to Norfolk, Virginia, after the June 12 rally in New York last year and looked over the press clips of the event his wife had saved for him. "The coverage did not communicate the individuality of everyone there," he says, "it expressed it just as a mass of people." Later that year he went to the Vietnam War Memorial in Washington, D.C., and was moved by the 58,000 names carved in marble. "It

was a monument to each individual," he says.

From those two experiences Lane-Laumann, who has a Masters degree in painting and print-making, got the idea for making a monumental visual petition, "signed" by all the faces of people who agree with his antinuclear statement. Since April Lane-Laumann has written to about 90 national peace organizations asking them to "visualize a 16 feet by 16 feet painting of a mushroom cloud. In the place of paint, 20,000 photographs of people will be used to represent the various colors and shades of gray. The emotional message is that a nuclear detonation is the destruction of people, not targets, objectives, opposition, enemy or foe."

Lane-Laumann hopes to begin the project, which he conceives as the first in a series of antinuclear photo-mosaics, in September, and have a video made of the work-in-progress. In a best-case scenario Lane-Laumann imagines the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., as the permanent show place. To contribute a headshot, or for more information, contact the artist at PO Box 6184, Norfolk, VA 23508 (804) 489-2012.

COMMUNICATORS: SELLING DISARMAMENT

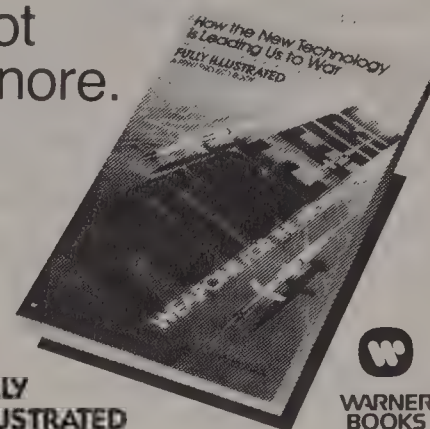
"The Pentagon and the arms industry have huge budgets to promote the legitimacy of the weapons race," says Patricia Brady at the Boston office of Communicators for Nuclear Disarmament (CFND). "It was clear to us that the concept of disarmament needed to be sold—conveyed to the American people with the same potency and by the same means as other strong messages. We wanted to fight the images of war with the images of peace." For this reason 200 graphic designers, illustrators, photographers, writers, publicists and other professional "communicators" banded together in Boston and New York to provide their services, at cost, to the antinuclear movement. Many groups, such as Physicians for Social Responsibility, Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament, and Jobs with Peace turn to CFND on a regular basis to help promote their events.

But CFND remains autonomous from the groups they serve, maintaining a rather low political profile. Most members are not grass-root activists, but professionals who feel strongly about the nuclear threat and see CFND as a way to work for the movement. For information, contact Patricia Brady, 21 Sherman Street, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 492-8150, or Wendy Ehrlich, 358 8th Street, #2, Brooklyn, NY 11215 (212) 965-3206.

Contributors to this section were Andrea Doremus, Corinna Gardner, Wendy Jones, Renata Rizzo.

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by Nuclear Times Resource Editor Ann Marie Cunningham & Mariana Fitzpatrick

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Comiso's "Frontier" Opposition

NATO plans to deploy 112 cruise missiles from the United States by the end of this year in Comiso, a city of 27,000 people in a highly-productive agricultural region of southeastern Sicily. Opposition to this plan has been spearheaded by the United Committee for Disarmament and Peace (CUDIP), with headquarters in Comiso. CUDIP is less than two years old, but its founder and president, Giacomo Cagnes, is a veteran of four decades of fierce political campaigns.

In 1943, the government of Italy sentenced Cagnes, then a 20-year-old military cadet, to death by firing squad for refusing to serve the fascist cause. He escaped and returned home to Sicily. He then joined an armed insurrection, was sentenced to prison by a military tribunal and went into hiding until granted amnesty by the new Republic of Italy in 1946. From 1952 to 1978, he was the Italian Communist Party (PCI) mayor of Comiso. (The PCI, which is strongly independent of the Soviet Union, is the second-largest party in Italy, behind the Christian Democrats. A new government was elected in late June but its stance on the missiles is not expected to be much different from that of the outgoing government.)

CUDIP often organizes in collaboration with religious activists, labor, political parties and independent peace groups. Activities have included several large demonstrations including one of close to 100,000 in Comiso in April 1982, peace marches and a petition opposing missile deployment signed by 70 percent of Comiso's voters. In November 1982 Cagnes participated in a two-week hunger strike that resulted in promises from President Sandro Pertini and the state-run television network to give CUDIP an opportunity to discuss the missiles issue in meetings with the leaders of Italy's political parties and on national television. CUDIP also cooperates with an international peace camp at Comiso that has staged civil disobedience actions at the Magliocco airport, where the missile base is being built. There were large demonstrations this spring against police attacks on the participants.

The following interview was conducted by Walter Lew, assistant editor of NUCLEAR TIMES. Rosanna Giammanco, an instructor of sociology at Queens College, served as interpreter.

Why did the Italian government accept the NATO deployment plans? Do you think that it was aware of the strong possibility of the missiles being aimed at targets in the Middle East and North Africa, and not at the Soviet Union?

The Italian government is not very independent and accepted them because it protected U.S. interests. Comiso is very isolated, at the southern extreme of Europe, and doesn't help protect Europe—for which purpose sea-based missiles alone would suffice. We believe that the base is being built for the same reasons that the fascists and Nazis built an air base at the same Magliocco site during World War II: to threaten North Africa and the Mediterranean with bombs.

No, the Italian government has not been strong about this; even Spain and Greece refused the missiles. And that is why Comiso became important. It is the only NATO missile base in the Mediterranean.

So there are no Italian interests specifically being served by the deployment?

No, and it is a tragedy for Sicily. The economy and society that emerges around such bases are totally against the traditional moral and civil positions of the Sicilian people. They will grow up amidst highly productive orchards and greenhouses, displace them and overthrow the existing economy. Having 10,000 American soldiers and dependents there will destroy economic structures the way it has already happened around other bases in Sicily. In the Nebrodi Mountains they are excavating a 25-mile road through the mountains for the transportation of missiles and there are plans for digging tunnels for U.S. submarines.

The missiles also violate a natural and historically close relation that Sicily has had with the Middle East and North Africa. If a missile base is built at Comiso, the next step will be a missile base in North Africa to answer it, and Comiso will become a target of much more than just Soviet SS-20s.

Some people say that the base would increase trade and revitalize the economy. This is the view of most of the major newspapers. But as far as local employment is concerned, out of 150 workers presently employed to work on the base, only 60 are from Comiso.

Traditionally, Sicily—since it is separated from the mainland both historically and geographically—has not been at the center of

Italy's concerns. Does the average mainland citizen have much knowledge of or an opinion about the Comiso base?

It is difficult because of the government-controlled media's refusal to cover us, but there have been expressions of solidarity throughout Italy. Nationwide protests are being planned, and Comiso has become a national symbol of "frontier" opposition to the NATO missiles.

The most important thing about the International Day of Protest at Comiso on April 9 of this year was that there were people from an unusually wide range of groups throughout Italy. There were members of the European, Italian and Sicilian parliaments, including Angela Bot-tari, who represents a group of women members of Parliament who are protesting police violence against the women who demonstrated at Comiso in March. There were representatives from the CGL, the strongest national labor union, and people from the Christian Association of Italian Workers (ACLI), which has about one million members nationwide from many different parties.

What type of media coverage has the Italian anti-missiles movement received within your country?

Not much—there was, for example, almost no television coverage of the International Day of Protest. This was due to severe censorship by the government, which controls the major television stations. Even after our two-week hunger strike last November we were given only one minute of television time, not the hour that we were promised. As for the newspapers, it depends on their political affiliation. There are papers with anti-deployment views, but the other view dominates. People working with the U.S. Friends of Comiso in New York say that even the news broadcast by Italian-American radio and television programs carries this [pro-deployment] stance and other opinions about Comiso can't get through.

Despite this comprehensive ban, however, the missiles have become a major issue in the alternative media. We have been supported by papers like Luciana Castellina's *Pace e guerra, il Manifesto* and *la Repubblica*. The first people to publicly oppose the missiles were accused of being agents of the KGB or President Qaddafi in Libya—of trying to destabilize the situation in the Mediterranean—

but after two years they have established their credibility.

Will the church or even the Pope become involved in the missiles issue?

Ultimately, he will have to say something. But the Italian bishops have *not* been inspired by the U.S. bishops' stand on nuclear weapons; they are prisoners of the political state. The exceptions to this are Bishop Luigi Bettazzi, president of the Italian Pax Christi, and Bishop Dante Bernini, director of the Vatican's [Pontifical] Commission on Justice and Peace.

In general, the separation of church and state that exists in the United States is absent in Italy. Indeed, the Christian Democratic party [which has dominated Italian politics since 1948] is an expression of the church hierarchy. The Italian church will not say anything that opposes the party's policies.

What is the stance of anti-cruise missile groups in Italy with regard to the Soviet Union? Does the strong support of the PCI (Italian Communist Party) make them an easy target for accusations of being pro-Soviet?

There are factions in Italy that do believe that the PCI favors the Soviet Union. But this is not true. It is strongly opposed to withdrawal from NATO and anything less than *bilateral* disarmament. There are other groups that do call for unilateral disarmament; for example, *Lotta per la Pace* (Struggle for Peace), led by former NATO General Nino Pasti. But in January, at the second national congress of Italian peace groups, there was a very important debate on this issue, after which it was decided that unilateralist parties and groups would be excluded from both the Communist and peace congresses.

Both European Nuclear Disarmament (END) and Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have called for unilateral initiatives, at least as a first step. Are you at odds with their program?

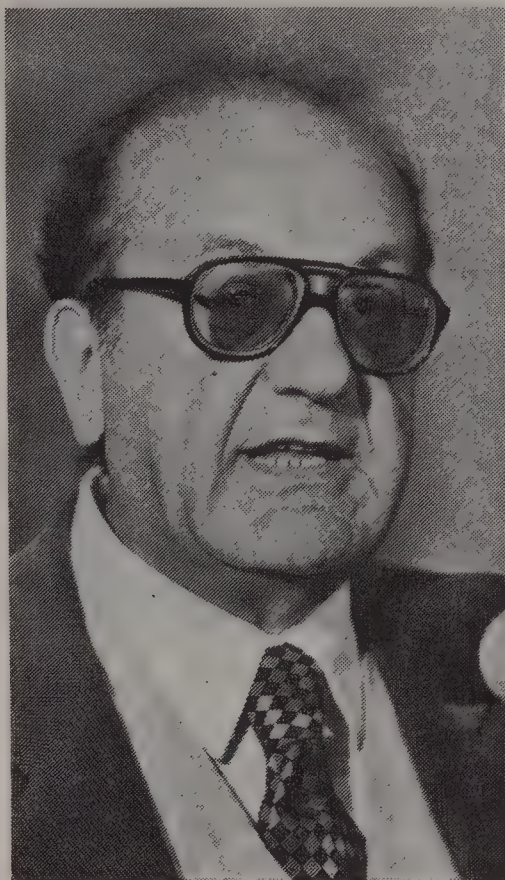
This is not a cause for keeping us separate. We have in common widespread agreement on three points: there should be no new missiles in Comiso and Greenham Common, the division of Europe into blocs should be overcome, and all people should have the right to self-determination, whether it be in Poland or El Salvador. Furthermore, we have had a very good working relation with END.

It has often been said that support for CUDIP among the Sicilian populace is hampered by the fear of reprisals from the Mafia, which stands to gain from the establishment of new bases. . . .

In the past the Mafia has not had much influence in eastern Sicily, where Comiso is; their strength is in the western region. Also, in Comiso and nearby towns there is a very strong Communist vote, which helps to keep the Mafia away. The Mafia, of course, should be interested in the land

speculation, drugs, gun sales, and prostitution attached to new bases. But I would say that it is not fear of the Mafia that hinders support so much as a basic fatalism about confronting such a massive international question—one that cannot be dealt with on only a local or national level.

As for the Mafia's assassination of Pio La Torre last year—he was very vocally against the already heavy militarization of Sicily and the Mafia's profiting from it. But this was part of a larger political issue. La Torre was a member of a parliamentary commission against the Mafia



Cagnes: U.S. bases a "tragedy for Sicily"

and president of the Sicilian PCI. His death sparked an extremely strong reaction among the populace. It did not intimidate people but, in fact, opened their eyes to the deep connection between the Mafia and the militarization of Sicily's economy.

In general, though, I do think that the United States is not aware of how they play into the Mafia's hands, that they are providing them money that will be recycled into things like the export of heroin to the United States; Sicily is a major exporter of drugs.

Have labor unions supported protests against the deployment?

Each of the three major Italian labor unions has officially supported opposition to the missiles. Unlike labor groups in America, Italian labor unions have always been very progressive. They were supportive of peace initiatives long before Comiso. Unfortunately, a lot of So-

cialist workers cannot give their support because the Minister of Defense is a Socialist—although it would be to their benefit because military bases interfere with civil rights and disrupt the local economy.

At the same time, although the major unions have given us formal support and collected many of the one million signatures from throughout Sicily for last year's petition against the cruise, they have not yet given us their most potent support, which is to call strikes.

Has the PCI been consistent in its stance on the missiles?

They have always officially supported the peace movement. In March, at their 16th national congress, they came out even more clearly against the missiles. They called for active support of any protest action at Comiso that is democratic and nonviolent.

It is true that in 1979 the PCI wasn't immediately opposed to the NATO deployment decision; but they supported construction of a base only *after* U.S.-Soviet negotiations had been finished. Since, however, construction is already going on, the PCI, along with other parties, has begun a movement to put the question of the missiles and construction up for national debate. And that motion requests a suspension of construction work. During the next few weeks, signatures will be collected in support of a national referendum.

What hope do you have that such protests, national referenda or parliamentary debate can stop the deployment? There is less than a year left

There is a clause in the constitution that forbids referenda on military issues. But a majority in Parliament could circumvent this. It all depends on the mobilization of popular opinion. Our nonviolent direct actions must be tied to other struggles in institutions at all levels, political and cultural.

Our struggle is to create a new, international order based on cooperation, not military confrontation and rearmament. We are convinced that the Mediterranean should be de-nuclearized and that rearmament doesn't bring peace, but war, fear and unemployment throughout the world. But we are, at this point, only asking the government to act the way the Dutch government has acted, which has not begun construction on its base. We want the Italian government to suspend construction as an expression of goodwill toward détente.

As for time, a year is neither too long nor too short; it hinges on international coordination of actions, and Comiso is one of the places where it must occur. I am personally convinced that as long as the people move on something, the governments must listen and follow. □

Drinking The Unthinkable

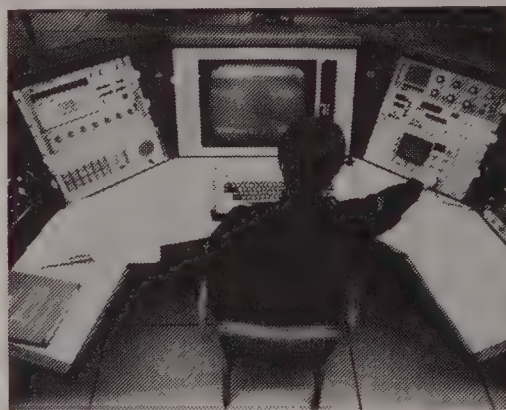
The G. Heileman Brewing Company of La Crosse, Wisconsin, manufacturers of Colt 45 Malt Liquor, recently launched a new television commercial for its popular beer. The ad, the latest in a long series depicting drinkers of Colt 45 coolly surviving unexpected disasters, features a submarine firing what appears to be a Polaris missile, but which turns out to be nothing more than a can of beer. ("Dynamite taste," a voiceover informs us.) Years ago, when Colt 45 began advertising on television, a runaway bull provided a sufficient degree of jeopardy. Things have obviously escalated since then. Today, it would seem, it takes a nuclear missile to rouse a weary viewer from his seat.

This fleeting image is but one recent sign that the media, however unintentionally, may be subliminally acclimating us to the prospect of nuclear war. Earlier this year, NBC aired a two-hour, made-for-television movie about nuclear terrorism, in which a crude atomic device was detonated in Charleston, South Carolina. The movie, *Special Bulletin*, made every effort to be realistic—indeed, it prompted several hundred calls from people around the country wanting to know whether a bomb had actually gone off—but in its depiction of the blast itself it managed to make a nuclear explosion seem no worse than, say, a medium-sized earthquake. Lots of buildings caught on fire, and a few thousand people died. But the ambulances that raced around town picking up the injured were unscathed by the heat, and the bombed-out city looked like it would get back on its feet with a little federal aid.

In *WarGames*, Hollywood's first venture into the nuclear terrain after years of ignoring the Bomb, no weapons actually go off, but the whole subject of atomic warfare is reduced to the size of an Atari game cartridge. The government's nuclear command center has the feel of a video arcade, with missile trajectories and submarine locations plotted on giant display screens. And our hero, a high school computer genius who manages to tap into the missile-launching system and accidentally start the countdown to World War III, saves the day by teaching the machine how to play tic-tac-toe. The final message is a noble one—that the only way to win at nuclear war is not to

play the game—but somehow the lesson seems less important than the entertainment. As Vincent Canby noted in his *New York Times* review, "In its own jolly way, *WarGames* has made our fears as small and manageable as those concerning some loathesome waxy buildup on the kitchen floor."

Despite the film's Disneyesque qualities—even the cigar-chomping, trigger-happy general comes off looking like a nice guy in the end—the real Air Force



War Games for real at NORAD

has let it be known that it takes *WarGames* very seriously. It has not issued any official response—"We can't go out and battle them in the open media," Captain Virginia Pribyla, an Air Force spokeswoman says, "since that would only help them hype the movie"—but the service has made an effort to counter what it sees as the film's pernicious inaccuracies.

In May, the Air Force granted a longstanding request by *New York Times* Pentagon correspondent Richard Halloran to tour the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) facilities at Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado. Halloran's piece, a morale-booster for NORAD, appeared on the front page of the *Times* the Sunday before *WarGames* opened, under the headline, "Confidence High at Norad." In it he sought to portray the super-secret defense center as a place where accidents never happen.

Still, the Air Force knows it can't win a public relations game of tic-tac-toe with United Artists, the studio that financed the \$12 million production. However remote the chances of accidental nuclear war, the film taps into widespread public fears about nuclear weapons that no Air Force move, short of disarmament, will

allay. And Hollywood, which is, after all, in the business of making money, has discovered once again that nuclear war can be both entertaining and profitable. *WarGames*, which opened in early June with a box-office bang, promises to be one of this summer's biggest hits.

Not since 1964, when *Dr. Strangelove* and *Fail-Safe* cashed in on public anxiety about atomic weapons, has there been such a profusion of cinematic interest in the subject. Movie studios and television networks, normally timid about taking on controversial issues, are now investing millions of dollars trying to catch up with a new wave of public opposition to the Bomb. Just how much commercial potential the genre has remains to be seen.

One test is sure to come this fall when ABC broadcasts *The Day After*, its four-hour dramatization of the effects of a nuclear attack on one American city. The movie, starring Jason Robards and directed by Nicholas Meyer, was supposed to have aired this spring. An ABC spokesman says the date was changed because the show needed more work, but the network is reportedly worried that it may have trouble selling advertising time on the program. "It's a very touchy subject," says Jake Keever, vice president of sales for ABC. Keever denies the show was postponed because of this, but he does admit *The Day After* is a controversial film that "some advertisers will rather not be in."

Much to its credit, ABC has, according to several accounts, made a movie that does not trivialize its subject. The end is appropriately grim. "Not everyone dies on camera," says Meyer, "but the clear implication is that no one, not even Jason Robards, is going to survive."

Still, despite its downbeat ending, *The Day After* might not encounter as much negativity on Madison Avenue as ABC anticipates. Nuclear war, it seems from talking to a number of advertising executives, is just not that big a deal. "I might not run any chewing gum ads on a show about the end of the world," says one media buyer at the J. Walter Thompson agency, "but I don't think I'll have a problem with most of my clients. It's a lot harder selling movies with muggings and rapes than nuclear war. War is fantasy. Now something like *Princess Daisy*, with incest and homosexuality—that they're going to have trouble selling." □

KEHLER

Continued from page 18
the mix it is useful.

One of the criticisms that I have of the European movement—and it varies from country to country—is that in general there has been a failure to include the perspective of sympathetic insiders and a failure to engage the political system on its own terms. The movement in Europe has been so much focused on an alternative, direct-action approach that, I think, it has hurt their effectiveness.

What now are the freeze campaign's plans for the 1984 elections? Are you leery of becoming too close to a presidential candidate?

Sure. We would like to become equally close to all of them. But we are wary of sidling up to any one or being sidled-up to by any one. Our Project '84 strategy is to create a bloc of freeze voters which will prove capable of influencing all of the candidates. There is no plan whatsoever to raise money to funnel into candidates' campaigns, to behave like a traditional PAC. Nor are there any plans at this point for the national freeze campaign—as opposed to the local and state campaigns—to endorse any candidate for Congress or the presidency.

In light of recent events, can we expect any shifts in the campaign's strategy?

There are some lessons that I hope we have learned in the last four to eight months that should dictate strategy shifts on our part. I think it is confusing at best for many freeze supporters to try to discern the rationale behind our different approaches to the various weapon systems. There is a rationale, and I can defend each rationale, each approach or non-approach, but it doesn't hang together with the ringing clarity of the freeze proposal itself. For people who are not on the inside of the campaign, who are not closely following all the ins and outs of the weapon developments, there are some apparent contradictions or, at least, inadequacies in our approaches.

Whether or not those contradictions or inadequacies are apparent or real, the fact is if the average person can't follow what we're doing, doesn't understand what we're doing, that obviously hurts us. It hurts our public support.

I am less concerned about how our opposition distorts what we do than I am about how our supporters, meaning the majority of the American people, perceive what we do. That doesn't mean we opt for total simplicity at the cost of good judgment. But it means that we should look at our positions. Any good campaign should be constantly doing this. It's self-criticism. We need to engage in rigorous self-criticism and be constantly re-evaluating what's working and what's not working.

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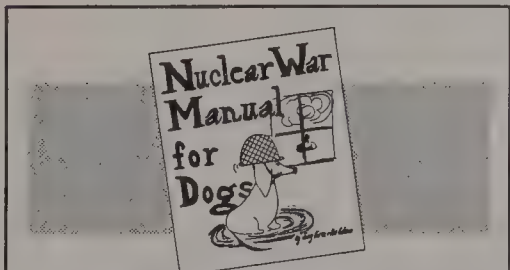
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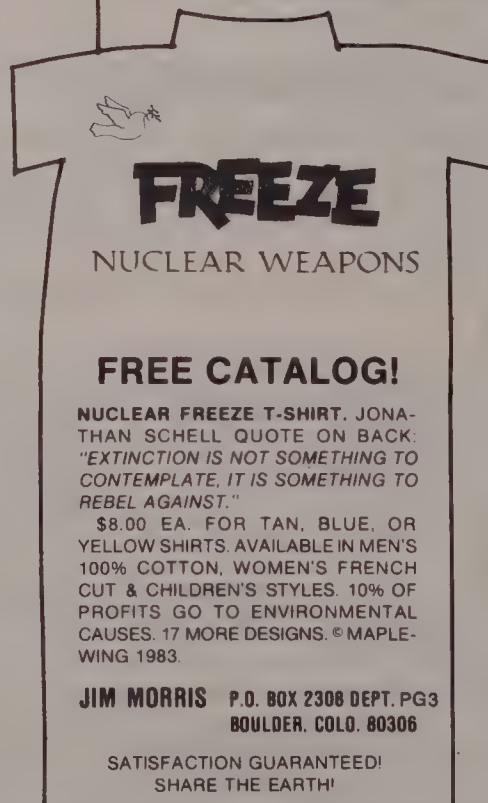
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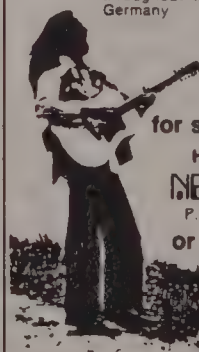
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•CALENDAR•

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM MARCH

A broad coalition of black, peace, religious, labor and other activist organizations, chaired by Coretta Scott King and Rev. Joseph Lowery, has issued a call to the nation to join this march in **Washington, D.C.**, on August 27. Related activities will take place the following day. On the 20th anniversary of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech during the 1963 March on Washington, the coalition will be protesting "insufferable unemployment, an escalating arms race and the denial of basic rights and programs which ensure freedom." Many local organizations are arranging for transportation to the march. The national office is Twentieth Anniversary Mobilization, PO 26020, Le Droit Park Station, Washington, DC 20001 (202) 467-6445.

TWO WOMEN'S PEACE CAMPS

The first U.S. peace camp—Puget Sound Women's Peace Camp—opened on June 18 at the Boeing plant in **Kent, Washington**, where cruise missiles are made. It will continue through the

summer to protest against the missiles, encourage conversion to peaceful production and bring together women to discuss peace issues. *Contact:* PO 22756, Seattle, WA 98122 (206) 523-2101. Another camp, at the Seneca Army Depot in **Romulus, New York**, opened on July 4, to "challenge the nuclear threat at its doorstep." Several women's peace organizations around the country are planning pilgrimages to this camp. *Contact:* Donna Cooper, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1213 Race St, Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 563-7110.

COMMUNITY OUTREACH

This summer and fall, Citizens Against Nuclear War is organizing a series of programs around the country to educate people who have not been active in the disarmament movement about the arms race and related issues. The first, August 13 in **Des Moines, Iowa**, will include a forum with presidential candidates. Other cities will include **Cincinnati, Ohio**, September 24 and **Hartford, Connecticut**, November 13-20. *Contact:* CAN, 1201 16th St NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 822-7483.

ANTINUCLEAR COMEDY

Barbara George's one-woman comic performance, "Everything I Ever Wanted to Know about Nukes and was Afraid to Ask," will be touring the Midwest this summer: **Illinois, Wisconsin**—July 11-17, *Contact:* Melody Moore (312) 786-9041; **Minnesota**—July 18-24, *Contact:* Minnesota Freeze Campaign (612) 644-4616; **Iowa**—July 25-31, *Contact:* Tim Button (515) 274-4851; **Missouri**—August 1-10, *Contact:* Ned Stowe or Steve Johnson (314) 449-8021; **Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas**—August 11-23, *Contact:* Mavis Bell Isle (812) 927-8291.

PILGRIMAGE TO THE VATICAN

Tom Siemer of the Holy Family Peace Center is organizing a pilgrimage to deliver a message of peace and nuclear disarmament to the Pope. Participants will join in with the Bethlehem Peace Pilgrimage, led by Father George Zabelka, formerly chaplain for the Air Force crew that dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, on August 15 in **Assisi** and arrive at the **Vatican** on August 20. *Contacts:* Holy Family Peace

Center, 584 W Broad St, Columbus, OH 43215 (614) 221-2513; Bethlehem Peace Pilgrimage, 621 17th Av E, Seattle, WA 98112 (206) 329-1242.

JULY 7

NEW YORK

• **New Rochelle** Clergy and Laity Concerned National Assembly, "We Still Have A Dream: Jobs, Peace and Freedom," through July 11; College of New Rochelle. *Contact:* New York CALC, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038 (212) 964-6730.

JULY 8

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Film, *In Our Hands*, about last year's June 12 rally for disarmament; Palace of Fine Arts. *Contact:* Ann Joseph, Foundation for the Arts of Peace (415) 488-4045, 428-0621.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Rock concert to benefit the freeze, through July 9. *Contact:* Minnesota Freeze Campaign, 2395

Hiroshima/Nagasaki Observances: Aug. 6-9

Peace and disarmament groups around the country will be holding events in observance of the 38th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The following events are only a small sample of what will take place. For more information, contact local organizations or the Mobilization for Survival, which is serving as a national clearinghouse (MFS, National Office, 853 Broadway, Rm 2109, New York, NY 10003, 212-533-0008).

ARIZONA

• **Tucson** Rally with special focus on the training of cruise missile personnel in Tucson, August 6. *Contact:* Edwina Vogan (602) 792-3517.

CALIFORNIA

• **Hayward** Antinuclear arms film festival; California State Univ. at Hayward. *Contact:* Hayward Peace Fellowship (415) 276-7980.

• **Sacramento** 100-hour vigil, with interfaith service. *Contact:* Sacramento Peace Center (916) 446-0787, Sacramento Religious Community for Peace (916) 456-2616.

• **San Francisco** Bay Area Asians for Nuclear Disarmament is organizing activities, including a candlelight procession, August 6, at the Japantown Peace Plaza. *Contact:* BAAND (415) 775-3292.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• Many activities, including: "Bike Ride for Peace," August 5, with bicyclists from all around the world converging on the White House; talks by Dr. Ernest Sternglass on the medical condition of *hibakusha*, August 6-7; a vigil for *hibakusha* at the White House; a commemoration program at the Lincoln Memorial on August 7, and a traditional Japanese candle float, August 8, on the Reflecting Pool. *Contact:* Hiroshima/Nagasaki Committee, PO 40602, Washington, DC 20016 (703) 536-6380.

FLORIDA

• **Jacksonville** Antinuclear weapons films; First Presbyterian Church, 118 E Monroe St. *Contact:* Bob Thiel (904) 388-1287.

GEORGIA

• **St. Mary's** Prayer vigil and worship service at the entrance to the King's Bay submarine base. *Contact:* Sumter County Fellowship of Reconciliation (912) 924-8429.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** Various activities organized by Boston MFS, 727 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 354-0008.

MICHIGAN

• **Statewide** Peace caravans protesting the deployment of cruise missiles at Wurtsmith Air Force Base in Oscoda will converge from all over the state on August 5 in **Lansing**, where there will be an "Artpeace" exhibit on the theme of a nuclear free planet. *Contact:* Bay City Peace Coalition, PO 253, Auburn, MI 48611 (517) 662-6042.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Many activities, including: fund-raising Hiroshima/Nagasaki Run of Remembrance and Hope, August 6 at the Lake of the Isles Parkway; multi-cultural festival and workshops, August 7 in North Common Park; ecumenical service, August 8; rally and candlelight vigil, August 9 in Como Park. *Contact:* Minnesota Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 2395 University Av, St. Paul, MN 55114 (612) 644-4616.

NEBRASKA

• **Omaha** A coalition of midwestern peace groups is organizing "End the Targeting," a large nonviolent civil disobedience action to take place on August 7 at the Strategic Air Command headquarters. *Contact:* Tom Cordaro, End the Targeting, 1717 Izard St, Omaha, NE 68102 (402) 345-0539.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Nashua** Four-day vigil and other ac-

tivities; Library Hill War Monument. *Contact:* Nashua Peace Center, 22 Meade St., Nashua, NH 03060 (603) 889-0049.

NEW JERSEY

• **Monmouth County** Interfaith religious service, followed by march and rally. *Contact:* Monmouth County War Resisters League (201) 842-6539.

OHIO

• **Statewide** Walk-through of civilian relocation plans. *Contact:* Ohio Freeze Campaign, 640 S Ohio Av, Columbus, OH 43205 (614) 253-7367.



• **Fairborn** Vigil and demonstration against the arms race, August 6 at Gate 1C, Wright Patterson Air Force Base. *Contact:* Larry Gaera, 21 Faculty Place, Wilmington, OH 45177 (513) 382-3569.

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Williamsport** "Day for World Peace" festival, with music, films, information booths. *Contact:* Ross Hemmendinger (717) 323-2690. Other activities around the state are being organized by the Thomas Merton Center, 1111 E Carson St, Pittsburgh, PA 15203 (412) 381-1400.

RHODE ISLAND

• **Providence** Children's Walk for Peace, on August 7. *Contact:* Women for a Non-nuclear Future (401) 751-5166.

TENNESSEE

• **Memphis** Pilgrimage from Memphis Army Depot to a Titan missile silo in

Arkansas, followed by a vigil and commemoration events. *Contact:* Mid-South Peace and Justice Center, 499 S Patterson St, Memphis, TN 38104 (901) 452-6997.

TEXAS

• **Amarillo** The Plowshares Pilgrimage will end its 1400-mile walk from Washington, D.C., with a three-day vigil at the Pantex nuclear weapons plant. *Contact:* NW Texas CALC, 2031 C.S. Hughes, Amarillo, TX 79107.

VERMONT

• **S. Royalton** Peace festival, including information booths, a vigil and a candlelight float on the White River. *Contact:* American Friends Service Committee, Putney, VT 05346 (802) 387-5732.

VIRGINIA

• **Richmond** All-night vigil on August 5. *Contact:* Pax Christi, 4100 Stratford Rd, Richmond, VA 23225 (804) 320-7385.

WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Many events, including a two-day theater festival on nuclear issues, August 6-7 at the New City Theatre, 1634 11th Av. *Contact:* Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament, 1978 Harvard East, Seattle, WA 98102 (206) 329-7184.

INTERNATIONAL

• **World Sing-Out for Peace** The Wisconsin-based "People for Peace" is arranging for groups in several different countries to sing at dawn on August 6 to encourage peaceful cooperation around the world. *Contact:* Ruth Johnson, 4360 N 133 St, Brookfield, WI 53005 (414) 257-0433, 781-1825.

• **Fast for Life** Peace activists at the Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Vancouver, Canada, and in Paris, France, will fast from August 6 "until there is a definite move toward stopping the arms race." *Contact:* Fast for Life, 942 Market St, Rm 710, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 982-4637.

University Av, St. Paul, MN 55114
(612) 644-4616.

JULY 9

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Pittsburgh** Talk on nonviolent civil disobedience by C.T. Vivian; Holy Rosary Church. *Contact:* The Thomas Merton Center, 1111 E Carson St, Pittsburgh, PA 15203 (412) 381-1400.

JULY 11

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Panel discussion, "START: The Build-down, Star Wars and the MX: Does the U.S. Have an Arms Policy?"; Ft. Mason Conference Center, Bldg A. *Contact:* Disarmament Resource Center, 942 Market St, Rm 708, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 495-0526.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Second International Institute on Peace Education, with sessions on the arms race, the world peace movement, women's issues, science and technology, through July 22. Enrollment for two academic credits is \$480 and for non-credit is \$350. *Contact:* United Ministries in Education, Teachers College, Columbia Univ, Box 171, New York, NY 10027.

JULY 14

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Easton** War Resisters League 60th Anniversary National Conference, through July 17; Lafayette College. *Contact:* WRL, 339 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 228-0450.

JULY 15

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Conference, "Euromissiles: Has the American Press Misfired the Biggest Story of 1983?", with Adam Hochschild and several European journalists; First Unitarian Church, Franklin at Geary St. *Contact:* Disarmament Resource Center, 942 Market St, Rm 708, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 495-0526.

VIRGINIA

• **Richmond** Retreat, "Christian Encounter with Peace Weekend," through July 17. *Contact:* Richmond Peace Education Center, 14 N Laurel St, Richmond, VA 23220 (804) 358-1958.

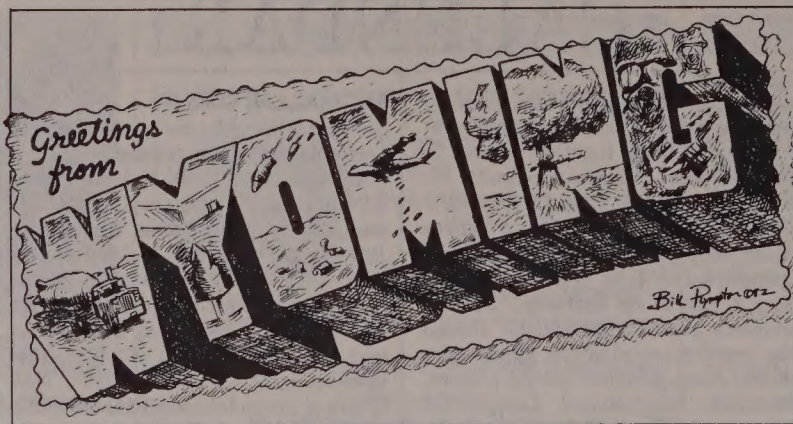
JULY 16

MINNESOTA/NEW YORK

Women Against Military Madness is organizing a week-long trip and encampment at the women's peace camp at Seneca Army Depot in Romulus, New York, including workshops on women and political action, conversion of nuclear weapons sites and racism in the peace movement, through July 31. *Contact:* WAMM, 3255 Hennepin Av S, Suite 125-B, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (612) 827-5362.

OHIO

• **Statewide** Activities to commemorate the 1945 Trinity atomic bomb test explosion, in: **Akron**—educational workshop at Goodyear Aerospace; **Ashtabula**—demonstration at a reactive metals plant; **Columbus**—vigil at Rockwell International; **Maple Heights**—



week-long vigil at Lear Fiegler; **Miamisburg**—educational events at the Mound Facility; **Newark**—workshops at Newark Air Force Station; **Piketon**—vigil at Goodyear Atomic Corporation. *Contact:* Sara Kirschenbaum, Ohio Freeze Campaign, 640 S Ohio Av, Columbus, OH 43205 (614) 253-7867.

WASHINGTON

• **Whidbey Island** Workshop, "Politics That Heal," with former NASA nuclear strategist John Graham, through July 17; Clinton Community Club. *Contact:* Paula Westdahl (206) 321-1884.

WYOMING

• **Laramie** Statewide meeting of freeze groups. *Contact:* Wyoming Church Coalition, 1601 S Melrose, Casper, WY 82601 (307) 266-6879.

JULY 17

IOWA

• **Sioux City** Week of activities emphasizing peace and justice; Briar Cliff College. *Contact:* NW Iowans for Peace and Justice, RR1, Box 41, Sheldon, IA 51201 (712) 324-3842.

JULY 19

CANADA/UNITED STATES

Peace walks, July 19-27, to protest the testing of cruise missiles in Alberta, Canada, and cruise and Pershing 2 deployment in Europe. One group walking from Kingston, Ontario, and another from Thousand Islands, New York, will converge on Griffiss Air Force Base in Rome, New York, where the B-52s that will launch the test cruises are based. *Contact:* Nuclear Weapons Facilities Networking Project, 821 Euclid Av, Syracuse, NY 13210 (315) 475-4822.

FLORIDA

• **St. Petersburg** Talk, "Space Militarism: Reagan's Space War Plans"; Friends Meeting House. *Contact:* Sunshine Action Group, 130 19th Av SE, St. Petersburg, FL 33705 (813) 822-5522.

GEORGIA

• **Athens** Talk on militarism and hunger by a representative from Bread for the World; University Lutheran Chapel. *Contact:* NE Georgia Campaign for a Nuclear Freeze, 1010 S Lumpkin, Athens, GA 30603 (404) 725-7717.

JULY 22

CALIFORNIA

• **Monte Rio** Antinuclear CD action at the main gate of the Bohemian Grove Club. *Contact:* Bohemian Grove Action Network, PO 216, Occidental, CA 95465 (707) 874-2248.

JULY 23

MASSACHUSETTS/NEW YORK

The War Resisters League's Training Program for Organizers will be held July 23-August 2 in **Deerfield, Massachusetts** at the Traprock Peace Center. The program will then move to **New York City**, August 2-5, to visit various peace groups. Activities will include lectures, films and slide shows. The fee of \$150 covers food and housing in Deerfield and housing and materials in New York. *Contact:* WRL, 339 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 228-0450.

JULY 24

CANADA

• **Vancouver** Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, through August 10. *Contact:* WCC, U.S. Conference, 475 Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10115 (212) 870-2533.

JULY 27

COLORADO

• **Denver** Third annual conference on global education, with sessions on peace and disarmament, through July 31; Univ. of Denver. *Contact:* Carol Austin, Center for Teaching International Relations, Univ. of Denver, University Blvd, Denver, CO 80208 (303) 753-3106.

JULY 30

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Pittsburgh** Nonviolence training by Esther Cassidy of Mobilization for Survival in preparation for a CD action during Hiroshima/Nagasaki days. *Contact:* Thomas Merton Center, 1111 E Carson St, Pittsburgh, PA 15203 (412) 381-1400.

JULY 31

SWEDEN

• **Gothenburg** Triennial International Congress of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, "Women Save the World," through August 6. *Contact:* Libby Frank, WILPF, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 563-7110.

AUGUST 2

FLORIDA

• **St. Petersburg** Talk on the history of police surveillance and harassment of peace activists in the United States, including reports from people who have experienced it; Friends Meeting House. *Contact:* AFSC, 130 19th St SE, St. Petersburg, FL 33705 (813) 822-5522.

AUGUST 3

CALIFORNIA

• **Santa Barbara** Retreat, "Peacemaking: A Nonviolent Way of Life," led by Daniel Berrigan, through August 6. *Contact:* La Casa de Maria, 800 El Bosque Rd, Santa Barbara, CA 93108 (805) 969-5031.

NEW JERSEY

• **Wayne** The film, *If You Love This Planet*, will be shown all day; Willowbrook Ministries, Willowbrook Mall. *Contact:* Morris County SEA Alliance, Box 271, New Vernon, NJ 07976 (201) 538-6676.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Talks on the Euromissiles and the fall legislative program; PSR/ NYC, 225 Lafayette St, Suite 207, New York, NY 10012 (212) 226-6767.

AUGUST 5

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Lancaster** Registration deadline for the August 13 southeastern Pennsylvania regional skills workshops for nuclear freeze activists. Topics include public speaking, fundraising and political action and media. *Contact:* Pennsylvania Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 900 S Arlington Av, Room 103, Harrisburg, PA 17109 (717) 545-1710.

AUGUST 12

MANITOBA/NORTH DAKOTA

The International Festival for Peace, August 12-14, will have speakers from Canadian and U.S. peace groups and be held at the International Peace Garden, between **Boissevain, Manitoba** and **Dunseith, N. Dakota**. There will be workshops, entertainment and films on a wide range of topics and children's activities. *Contact:* Kathy Hanten, PO 415, Rolla, ND 58367 (701) 477-6633.

UTAH

• **Cedar City** National Radiation Victims Speakers Workshop, through August 14. *Contact:* Citizens Call, 126 S 1400 West, Cedar City, UT 84720 (801) 586-6674.

AUGUST 14

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** Peace Sunday, with celebrations, speakers, music and caravans headed for the August 27 March for Jobs, Peace and Freedom. *Contact:* Peace with Justice Leadership Conference, 4182 Southwestern, Los Angeles, CA 90008 (213) 295-8582.

AUGUST 20

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Northfield** Second annual meeting of Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War, through August 21. *Contact:* STOP Nuclear War, PO 232, Northfield, MA 01360 (413) 498-5311, ext 264.

The deadline for submitting events is always a month ahead of publication date. Our next issue is an August-September issue to come out in the second week of August, so please inform us about events for both of those months by July 12. Our telephone number is (212) 563-5940.

—Compiled by **Walter Lew**
with **David Kallick** and **Renata Rizzo**

• RESOURCES •

ABOUT THE RUSSIANS

The Threat: Inside the Soviet Military Machine, by Andrew Cockburn (Random House, \$16.95 hardcover). A journalist and documentary filmmaker draws on interviews with middle rank U.S. intelligence analysts, Israeli officers who have confronted Soviet weapons on the battle field and émigrés who have served in the Soviet armed forces. The resulting portrait uses wit and detailed examples to limn a Soviet military plagued with corrupt officers, troops who lack training, morale, and weapons that work. Cockburn argues that the Soviet and American military machines use the "threat" on the other side to perpetuate their huge budgets and their very existence, at the expense of real military security and strong national economies.

USSR in Crisis, by Marshall I. Goldman (Norton, \$15 hardcover). A useful companion to Cockburn's book by a Russian specialist at Harvard. Goldman's discussion of the problems of the Soviet economy and his descriptions of what daily life is like back in the Soviet Union are well-written and engrossing. In his view, Stalin's organized economic planning has strangled industrial innovation, and the Soviet bureaucracy makes fundamental change a long shot.

"What About the Russians?" (25¢ from the Pairing Project, PO Box 19049, Portland, OR 97219). Over 150 listings, authors of all nationalities and political persuasions, covering history, economy, daily life, national character, internal and foreign policy, Soviet-American relations, military policy and the Soviet view of nuclear war, Soviet literature and criticism.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

California State Psychological Association Task Force on Psychologists for Social Responsibility Bibliography, (\$10 from CSPATFPSR, Attn. Karen, 2100 Sawtelle Blvd., Suite 201, Los Angeles, CA 90025). The most comprehensive bibliography to date on the psychological effects of living under the nuclear threat. Its 164 references are constantly updated to provide scientific support for opposition to both nuclear power and the arms race.

NEW BOOKS

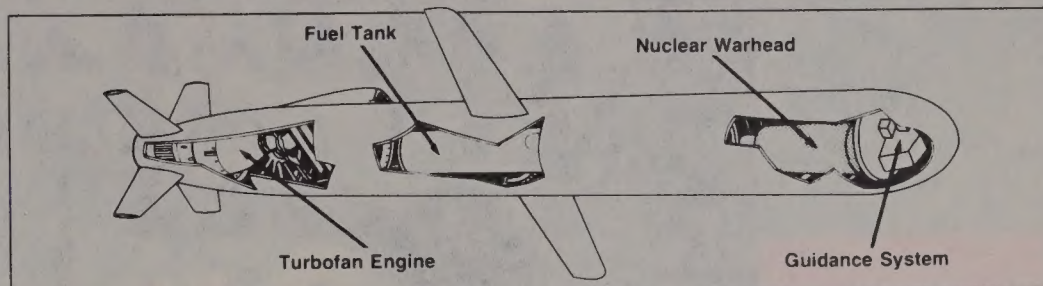
World View 1983: What the Press and Television Have Not Told You About the Year's Mega-Issues (Pantheon, \$9.95 paper). A political almanac that uses articles from the European press to profile key political figures and issues, as well as the state of all major countries and regions of the world. It's a particularly good source of information about local and regional conflicts, with valuable

chapters on nuclear weapons in Europe, nuclear proliferation, the politics of U.S. military aid and Third World arms exports, and Soviet military strength.

Understanding Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control, by Teena Mayers (\$2.95 from Arms Control Research, PO Box 1355, Arlington, VA 22210). A brief, succinct handbook with a glossary, a history of the nuclear arms race, an outline of current negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, a comparative

The Case Against the MX Missile, by Alan B. Sherr (\$3 from the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, Inc., 43 Charles Street, Suite 3, Boston, MA 02114). A brief for the prosecution.

Production for Destruction: Military Spending in New York State, by Tom Webster and Beth Cohen DeGrasse, with Louie Nemeth (\$2.50 from NYPIRC, Inc., 9 Murray Street, New York, NY 10007). This detailed and disturbing report from the New York Public Interest Research



See Cruise: An inside look (From "Understanding Nuclear Weapons")

guide to the U.S. and Soviet forces, and descriptions of the effects of nuclear war. The book's extremely simple presentation works hard to make complicated concepts accessible.

The First Nuclear World War, by Patrick O. Heffernan, Amory B. Lovins and L. Hunter Lovins (William Morrow and Company, \$15.95). The book suggests in a frightening and meticulously constructed scenario that "atomic catastrophe" will not be brought upon us by superpowers attacking one another, but rather "through a series of small, ongoing nuclear wars and acts of atomic terrorism in the Third World."

The authors show how Western nations have been providing nuclear technology to Third World countries for 30 years, how such proliferation under current conditions cannot be stopped and how conventional arms races in the First World can cause potential nuclear conflicts in the Third World. Finally the authors offer a strategy to end nuclear proliferation. (B.K.)

REPORTS

Anti-Freeze Initiatives (\$10 for all current and future reports from the Interchange Resource Center, 1201 16 Street NW, #405, Washington, DC 20036). These reports monitor right-wing attempts to discredit and defeat the freeze movement, and scrutinize the sources, funding, and promotion of attempts to red-bait the freeze. Current reports cover the American Security Council's Coalition for Peace Through Strength, the American Conservative Union, Phyllis Schlafly, Jeremiah Denton, and General Daniel Graham's "High Frontier" Project.

Center outlines Pentagon spending in New York state (county by county), lists the state's top military contractors and covers nuclear weapons contracts, deployment and storage.

Interracial Books for Children Bulletin, Vol. 13, No. 6 and 7, 1982 (\$2.25 or \$18 a year from Interracial Books for Children Bulletin, 1841 Broadway, New York, NY 10023). A special issue on "Militarism and Education" lists numerous suggestions and bibliographies to help children deal with the nuclear threat, plus essays that analyze militarism in textbooks and children's fiction—the "military/educational complex."

The Nuclear Free Press (\$10 individuals, \$15 groups from OPIRG-Peterborough, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario K9J7B8, CANADA.) Published four times a year, "Canada's Voice of Nuclear Concern" reports on weapons in Canada, uranium mining's environmental and health effects, reactor safety, "nuclear uneconomics", militarism, and disarmament activism.

Progressive Space Forum (1724 Sacramento Street, San Francisco, CA 94109). This November the Forum is urging all disarmament groups to join a campaign of public education and political action to halt the arms race in space and to support a negotiated space weapons ban. The Forum's newsletter, *Space for All People*, provides valuable news updates on space policy and technological developments.

—Ann Marie Cunningham

Ann Marie Cunningham is co-author of the recently-published *Future Fire: Weapons for the Apocalypse* (Warner Books \$8.95).

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